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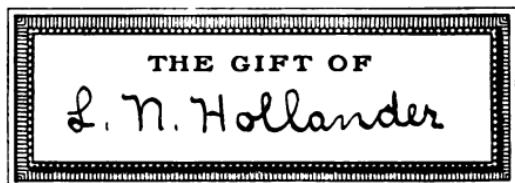
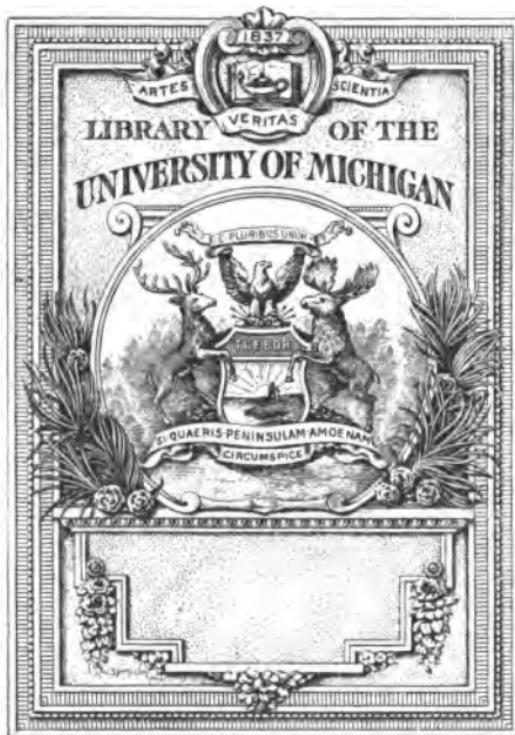
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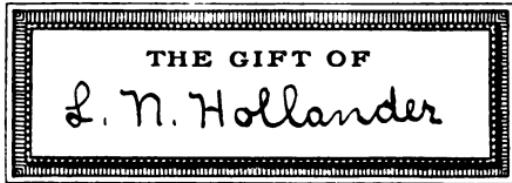
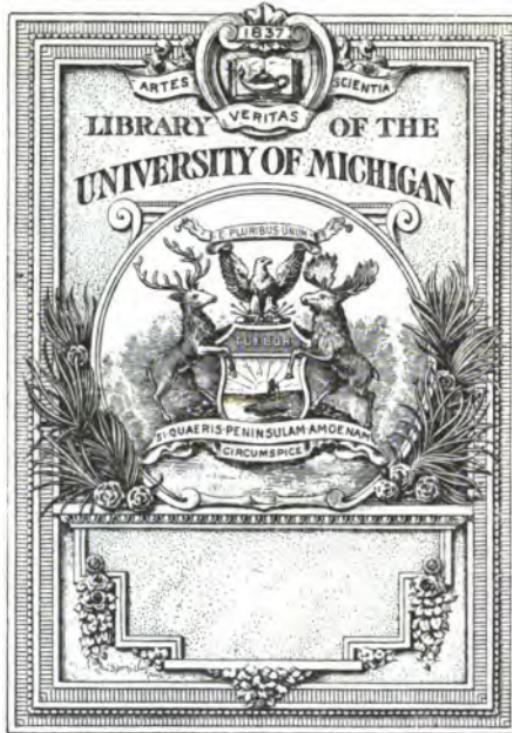
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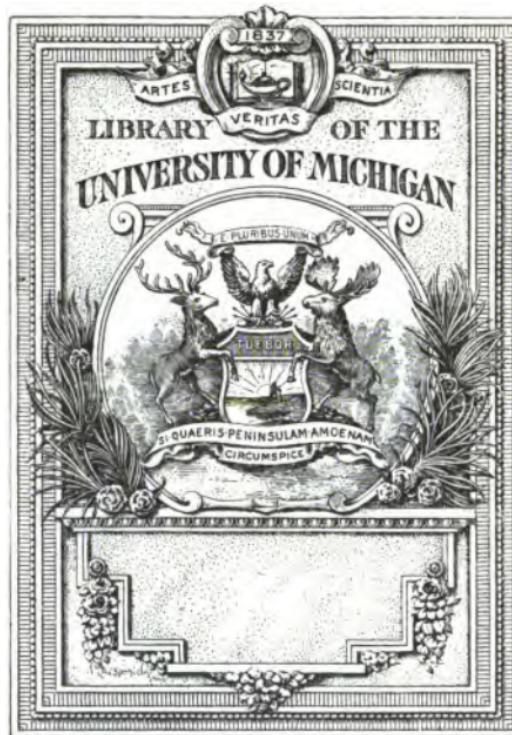


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The Students' Series of English Classics.

REVOLT OF THE TARTARS

OR

FLIGHT OF THE KALMUCK KHAN

BY

THOMAS DE QUINCEY

EDITED BY

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PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN THE TEACHERS' COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY



LEACH, SHEWELL, & SANBORN,

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P R E F A C E.

THE text of the present edition of De Quincey's *The Revolt of the Tartars* is based upon his revision in 1854 for his collected works. It has seemed best, however, to change the text in the slight degree needed to modernize it, because the special aim of this edition is to assist in preparing students for the college requirements in English. For the same reason, the Critical Notes have been made to take account of the linguistic rather than the literary side of the work. This has seemed the more justifiable for the reason that this work of De Quincey's has, perhaps, less of literary excellence than some of his other writings. The Explanatory Notes relating to the geography of the country should be used in connection with good maps of Russia and Siberia. It may help to arouse the pupil's interest to have him attempt to trace, from the somewhat meagre details given by the author, the route of the Tartars. But any use of the Notes which would stand between the pupil and his study of the book as language and literature would be "from the purpose" of this edition.

F. T. B.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

October, 1896.

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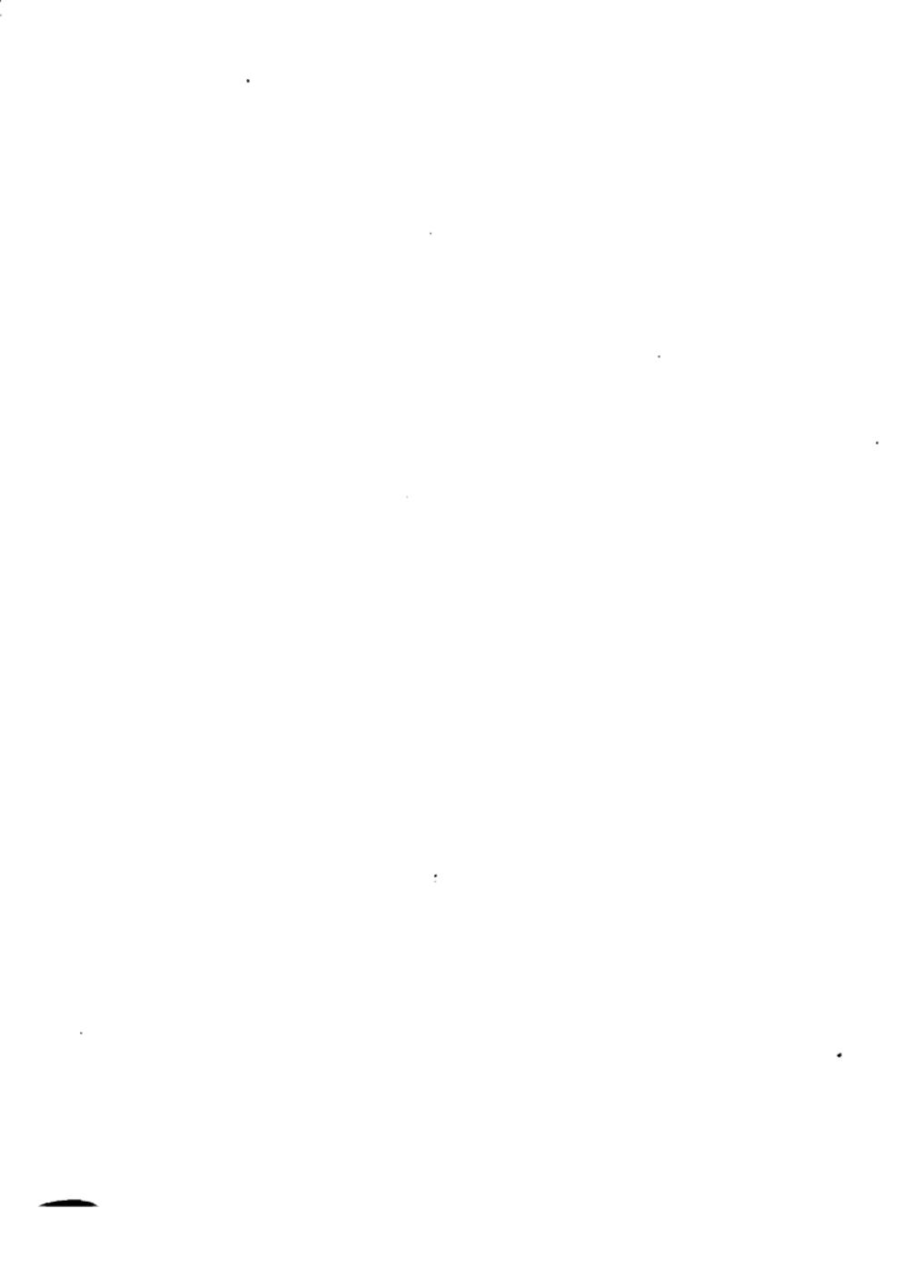


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LIFE OF THOMAS DE QUINCEY.

THE events of real interest in the life of Thomas De Quincey may be briefly told. He was born Aug. 15, 1785, in Manchester, England, and died in Edinburgh, Dec. 8, 1859. His life was thus coextensive with two of the greatest periods of English literature, — with the so-called Lake school and the early Victorian era.

His father, a descendant of Richard De Quincy of the time of the Conqueror, the first of the Earls of Winchester, was a successful merchant, a man of literary tastes, and of some literary ability. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1772, he published a series of articles under the title, "A Tour in the Midland Counties of England." The articles were signed T— Q—. The prefix *De* of the name had been in disuse for some time, but was resumed by our author. These papers show intelligent observation, an eye for the picturesque and beautiful, and an occasional elevation of thought to the verge of the poetic. De Quincey's mother is described as a woman of stately ways, refined tastes, and unusual endowments, but with perhaps too much of unbending firmness, too much regard to established social usages, and too little sympathetic insight to be the wisest guide to this precocious and sensitive child with his dreams and vagaries.

De Quincey's childhood was spent with his brothers and

sisters at Greenhay, near Manchester. Their education was left to the care of the mother. Their father died when De Quincey was but seven, leaving ample means for the continuance of their superior educational and social advantages.

This period of De Quincey's life derives special interest from his writings. Some of his deeper experiences seem to have begun here. At any rate, some of the most powerful passages in his sequel to the *Confessions*, and in his autobiographical notes, refer to this period. Prominent among them is his grief for the death of his little sister, so beautifully described in the *Suspiria de Profundis*. How much of this feeling he then experienced, and how much was projected backwards by the mature power of his imaginative genius, it is of course impossible to determine.

Like the majority of men of great talents, he was precocious. He says that he does not know the time when he began to read and write; and his memory for the events of his early childhood was phenomenal. His instruction was begun at home. Next he was tutored by a clergyman who lived near by. Later he went to school at Bath, at Winkfield, and at Manchester successively. In all of these schools he easily outstripped his school-fellows, especially in the classics, which were then, as yet in many English schools, the most important studies in the course. When he was but twelve years old, one of his masters said of him, "That boy could harangue an Athenian mob." He had also, by this time, cultivated a taste for the best in English literature. Before he left the public schools he became an ardent admirer of Wordsworth and the "Lakists."

In the interval between his attendance at the schools in Winkfield and in Manchester, he travelled in Ireland. The

experiences of this tour seem to have been a potent force in his development. Of the effects upon himself of the cultivated men and women with whom he came in contact, he writes, "I was an altered creature, never again lapsing into the careless, irreflective mind of childhood."

But no period of his school life was fraught with consequences so grave as was that spent in the Manchester Grammar School. Finding the associations uncongenial, and the system without stimulus for his intellect or gratification for his tastes, he petitioned his mother that he might be placed in another school. When this request was refused, he ran away from the school to his home. This was in the summer of 1802. Through the intervention of an indulgent uncle, his mother's displeasure was softened into permission for him to travel for a while in Wales, on a small allowance.

But his vagrant imagination was attracted from the rural quiet of Wales to the busy world of London. He renounced his allowance, cut off all communication between himself and his home, and buried himself in the metropolis. As might have been expected of an inexperienced, unpractical, and dreamy youth of seventeen, he fell upon hardships. How he suffered cold and hunger, became the innocent companion of the outcasts of the streets, came to know the bitterness of making suit to the money-lenders, and finally undermined his health, he has himself told us in his *Confessions*.

After a year of this life, he was discovered by his friends, and entered at Worcester College, Oxford. That he did not take his degree was due neither to lack of ability nor of industry, but rather, it seems, to a shyness that kept him from taking the *viva voce* part of his examinations. He had already acquitted himself with great credit in the written tests. He

is described by the president of the college, Dr. Cotton, as "a quiet and studious man, . . . remarkable even in those days for his rare conversational powers, and for his extraordinary stock of information upon every subject started."

Three things stand out prominently in his life at the university. He learned to appreciate German literature and philosophy, and set himself seriously to work to master the German language ; he began the systematic study of English literature, in which he was already widely read, but which he had not yet learned to know as a growth, as a continuous development ; and he began at this time to take opium,— a habit which put almost all his later life in bondage, and not only colored but controlled his work. He tells us that he took it first to relieve his suffering from the disease left in his system by the hardships of his London vagrancy.

The new group of poets and thinkers in the Lake district had long been an attraction to De Quincey. Not long after leaving the university he went to live in that district. Here he became the friend of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and especially of Wilson, the "Kit North" of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. Through the latter he came in contact also with the younger men of ability in Edinburgh, among whom were Sir William Hamilton and Lockhart. The extent of his interest in these men, and something of the character of De Quincey himself, are well shown in his characteristic action in supplying Wordsworth with books and Coleridge with money. In 1816 he married, and settled in the Lake district in the cottage at Grasmere formerly occupied by Wordsworth.

During all this time, though an eager student and prolific thinker, he had published nothing, unless the work of his brief term as editor of a provincial newspaper, the *Westmoreland*

Gazette, is to be regarded in that light. In 1821 there appeared in the *London Magazine* the first part of *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*. Subsequent numbers completed the series. These papers were widely read and much discussed. Their authorship was as yet unknown to the public. But when he began to write on other subjects, anything that the "Opium-Eater" had to contribute had a ready demand. His failing had given him fame. His articles covered a wide range of subjects. They had in their favor, not merely the commonplace impulse which often leads the reading public to turn to the morbid in human life; but they displayed a vast amount of curious, interesting, and valuable learning; an elegant, versatile, and sonorous style; a brilliant and sustained imagination; and subtle powers of analysis. These magazine articles, many of which have now become classics, were written often under the spur of financial necessity, and cover a period of over thirty years.

During the latter part of this period, De Quincey lived first in London, then in Edinburgh. Although his residence in Edinburgh extended over the period of his greatest fame, when it was well known who the brilliant "Opium-Eater" was, he was never in any real sense one of its citizens. His tendency to sequester himself, to fail to keep appointments with those who sought to bring him into the circle of the literary and social lights of his time, his owl-like habits, kept him a sort of alien to the last. It is said that the majority of the citizens of Edinburgh do not know to-day that the tablet to his memory is in the West Churchyard. The city does its honor to Scott and Burns.

His appearance and personal traits, we are told, at once set him apart from other men. He was of diminutive size, hardly

more than five feet high. "One was struck," says his biographer, Masson, "with the peculiar beauty of his head and forehead, rising disproportionately high over his small, wrinkly visage, and gentle, deep-set eyes." His experiences had left their traces. Carlyle had said of him, "*Eccovi*: look at him. This child has been in hell." He was shy, sensitive, a dreamer, and a lover of solitude. But when he could be brought, by force or by craft, into a gathering of his intellectual peers, he was well worth hearing. His richness and fluency of ideas, his insight into the deeper springs of life and character, and the musical cadences of his speech, repaid the trouble of his capture.

He was one of the gentlest of creatures, but, writes one of his daughters, "not a reassuring man for nervous people to live with, as those nights were exceptional on which he did not set something on fire, the commonest incident being for some one to look up from book or work to say casually, '*Papa, your hair is on fire!*' of which a calm '*Is it, my love?*' and a hand rubbing out the blaze, were all the notice taken."

It is significant that most estimates of the value of De Quincey's work concern themselves with his style. He was not a great thinker. Keen as were his powers of analysis, he was not always even a logical thinker. Above all, he was not capable of sustained, systematic thinking. His writings are full of beginnings that lead nowhere, and of promises that are never performed. His very habit of analysis led to a lack of proportion in his work. Little ideas get as much space as big ones. One is sometimes wearied by the feeling that it is not the thought that he is getting, but the author's power of saying things, irrespective of their worth, in a pleasing and original form. He planned great works which he never exe-

cuted, especially a system of political economy, and a philosophical work on the Emendation of the Human Intellect. In this power of planning what he could not execute, he strikingly resembles Coleridge.

Nor could he rise above prejudice. His works even show sometimes a tendency to pettiness and gossip. And yet his own claim that his habits and pleasures were in a high sense intellectual, is perfectly true. From his boyhood it was in the higher realms of the intellectual world that he lived. His weakness was of character, of will, rather than of intellect. How much this was due to physical weakness and to his bondage to opium we can never know; but it is probable that these things kept him far below what he might have been. One compensation this opium-habit may be said to have had. Those magnificent dreams, which in fact and expression — as in the *Dream Fugue* — our literature does not parallel, may be traced to this habit.

But it is, after all, the style of De Quincey that fixes his place in literature. Majestic, gorgeous, flexible, — it satisfies, irrespective of the thought which it conveys. It is its own excuse for being. It is a new kind of music, as much like Milton's "organ-voice" as it is possible for prose to be like poetry. Indeed, it often *is* poetry, except that it lacks the measured and recurrent forms of verse.

No account of De Quincey could give a just idea of his range of learning and his versatility if it omitted a list of his greatest works. They cover a wide range of topics and of styles, — historical, critical, descriptive, imaginative, theological, philosophical, psychological, and political, serious and humorous. Among the best known are: *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*; *Biographical Sketches*; *Homer and the*

Homeridæ ; The Cæsars ; The Revolt of the Tartars ; The Essenes ; Logic of Political Economy ; Rhetoric ; Style ; Theory of Greek Tragedy ; The Antigone of Sophocles ; Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts ; Joan of Arc.

The student is referred for further information regarding the life and work of De Quincey to Leslie Stephen's *Hours in Library* ; Minto's *Manual of English Prose Literature* ; Masson's *Life of De Quincey*. Above all, he is advised to read, not the books about De Quincey, but De Quincey.

REVOLT OF THE TARTARS;

OR,

*FLIGHT OF THE KALMUCK KHAN AND HIS PEOPLE
FROM THE RUSSIAN TERRITORIES TO THE
FRONTIERS OF CHINA*

THERE is no great event in modern history, or, perhaps it may be said more broadly, none in all history from its earliest records less generally known, or more striking to the imagination, than the flight eastwards of a principal Tartar nation across the boundless steppes 5 of Asia in the latter half of the last century. The *terminus a quo* of this flight and the *terminus ad quem* are equally magnificent,— the mightiest of Christian thrones being the one, the mightiest of Pagan the other. And the grandeur of these two terminal objects is har- 10 moniously supported by the romantic circumstances of the flight. In the abruptness of its commencement and the fierce velocity of its execution, we read the wild, barbaric character of those who conducted the movement. In the unity of purpose connecting this myriad 15 of wills, and in the blind but unerring aim at a mark so remote, there is something which recalls to the mind those almighty instincts that propel the migrations of the swallow and the lemming, or the life-withering

marches of the locust. Then, again, in the gloomy vengeance of Russia and her vast artillery, which hung upon the rear and the skirts of the fugitive vassals, we are reminded of Miltonic images, — such, for instance,

5 as that of the solitary hand pursuing through desert spaces and through ancient chaos a rebellious host, and overtaking with volleying thunders those who believed themselves already within the security of darkness and of distance.

10 I shall have occasion, further on, to compare this event with other great national catastrophes as to the magnitude of the suffering; but it may also challenge a comparison with similar events under another relation, viz., as to its dramatic capabilities. Few cases, perhaps,

15 in romance or history, can sustain a close collation with this as to the complexity of its separate interests. The great outline of the enterprise, taken in connection with the operative motives, hidden or avowed, and the religious sanctions under which it was pursued, give to the

20 case a triple character: Firstly, That of a *conspiracy*, with as close a unity in the incidents, and as much of a personal interest in the moving characters, with fine dramatic contrasts, as belongs to *Venice Preserved* or to the *Fiesco* of Schiller. Secondly, That of a great

25 *military expedition*, offering the same romantic features of vast distances to be traversed, vast reverses to be sustained, untried routes, enemies obscurely ascertained, and hardships too vaguely prefigured, which mark the Egyptian expedition of Cambyses; which mark the



anabasis of the younger Cyrus, and the subsequent retreat of the ten thousand to the Black Sea; which mark the Parthian expeditions of the Romans, especially those of Crassus and Julian; or (as more disastrous than any of them, and in point of space as well as in amount of forces more extensive) the Russian anabasis and katabasis of Napoleon. Thirdly, That of a religious *exodus*, authorized by an oracle venerated throughout many nations of Asia,—an *exodus*, therefore, in so far resembling the great scriptural *exodus* of the Israelites under Moses and Joshua, as well as in the very peculiar distinction of carrying along with them their entire families, women, children, slaves, their herds of cattle and of sheep, their horses and their camels.

This triple character of the enterprise naturally invests it with a more comprehensive interest. But the dramatic interest which I have ascribed to it, or its fitness for a stage representation, depends partly upon the marked variety and the strength of the personal agencies concerned, and partly upon the succession of scenical situations. Even the steppes, the camels, the tents, the snowy and the sandy deserts, are not beyond the scale of our modern representative powers as often called into action in the theatres both of Paris and London; and the series of situations unfolded, beginning with the general conflagration on the Volga, passing thence to the disastrous scenes of the flight (as it literally was in its commencement), to the Tartar siege of the Russian fortress Koulagina; the bloody engage-

ment with the Cossacks in the mountain passes at Ou-chim ; the surprisal by the Bashkirs and the advanced posts of the Russian army at Turgai ; the private conspiracy at this point against the khan ; the long succession of running fights ; the parting massacres at the Lake of Tengis under the eyes of the Chinese ; and, finally, the tragical retribution to Zebek-Dorchi at the hunting lodge of the Chinese Emperor,— all these situations communicate a scenical animation to the wild romance, if treated dramatically ; while a higher and a philosophic interest belongs to it as a case of authentic history, commemorating a great revolution for good and for evil in the fortunes of a whole people,— a people semi-barbarous, but simple-hearted and of ancient descent.

On the 21st of January, 1761, the young Prince Oubacha assumed the sceptre of the Kalmucks upon the death of his father. Some part of the power attached to this dignity he had already wielded since 20 his fourteenth year, in quality of vice-khan, by the express appointment and with the avowed support of the Russian government. He was now about eighteen years of age, amiable in his personal character, and not without titles to respect in his public character as a 25 sovereign prince. In times more peaceable, and among a people more entirely civilized or more humanized by religion, it is even probable that he might have discharged his high duties with considerable distinction.

But his lot was thrown upon stormy times, and a most difficult crisis among tribes whose native ferocity was exasperated by debasing forms of superstition, and by a nationality as well as an inflated conceit of their own merit absolutely unparalleled; while the circumstances 5 of their hard and trying position under the jealous surveillance of an irresistible lord paramount, in the person of the Russian Czar, gave a fiercer edge to the natural unamiableness of the Kalmuck disposition, and irritated its gloomier qualities into action under the restless im- 10 pulses of suspicion and permanent distrust. No prince could hope for a cordial allegiance from his subjects or a peaceful reign under the circumstances of the case; for the dilemma in which a Kalmuck ruler stood at present was of this nature: *wanting* the sanction and 15 support of the Czar, he was inevitably too weak from without to command confidence from his subjects, or resistance to his competitors: on the other hand, *with* this kind of support, and deriving his title in any degree from the favor of the imperial court, he became 20 almost in that extent an object of hatred at home and within the whole compass of his own territory. He was at once an object of hatred for the past, being a living monument of national independence ignominiously surrendered, and an object of jealousy for the future, as 25 one who had already advertised himself to be a fitting tool for the ultimate purposes (whatsoever those might prove to be) of the Russian court. Coming himself to the Kalmuck sceptre under the heaviest weight of preju-

dice from the unfortunate circumstances of his position, it might have been expected that Oubacha would have been pre-eminently an object of detestation; for, besides his known dependence upon the cabinet of St. Petersburg, the direct line of succession had been set aside, and the principle of inheritance violently suspended, in favor of his own father, so recently as nineteen years before the era of his own accession, consequently within the lively remembrance of the existing generation. He therefore, almost equally with his father, stood within the full current of the national prejudices, and might have anticipated the most pointed hostility. But it was not so: such are the caprices in human affairs that he was even, in a moderate sense, popular,—a benefit which wore the more cheering aspect and the promises of permanence, inasmuch as he owed it exclusively to his personal qualities of kindness and affability, as well as to the beneficence of his government. On the other hand, to balance this unlooked-for prosperity at the outset of his reign, he met with a rival in popular favor, almost a competitor, in the person of Zebek-Dorchi, a prince with considerable pretensions to the throne, and perhaps, it might be said, with equal pretensions. Zebek-Dorchi was a direct descendant of the same royal house as himself, through a different branch. On public grounds his claim stood, perhaps, on a footing equally good with that of Oubacha; while his personal qualities, even in those aspects which seemed to a philosophical observer most odious and repulsive, promised the most effectual

aid to the dark purposes of an intriguer or a conspirator, and were generally fitted to win a popular support precisely in those points where Oubacha was most defective. He was much superior in external appearance to his rival on the throne, and so far better qualified to 5 win the good opinion of a semi-barbarous people; while his dark intellectual qualities of Machiavellian dissimulation, profound hypocrisy, and perfidy which knew no touch of remorse, were admirably calculated to sustain any ground which he might win from the simple-hearted 10 people with whom he had to deal, and from the frank carelessness of his unconscious competitor.

At the very outset of his treacherous career, Zebek-Dorchi was sagacious enough to perceive that nothing could be gained by open declaration of hostility to the 15 reigning prince: the choice had been a deliberate act on the part of Russia, and Elizabeth Petrowna was not the person to recall her own favors with levity or upon slight grounds. Openly, therefore, to have declared his enmity towards his relative on the throne could have 20 had no effect but that of arming suspicions against his own ulterior purposes in a quarter where it was most essential to his interest that for the present all suspicion should be hoodwinked. Accordingly, after much meditation, the course he took for opening his snares was 25 this: He raised a rumor that his own life was in danger from the plots of several *saissang* (that is, Kalmuck nobles) who were leagued together under an oath to assassinate him; and immediately after, assuming a well-

counterfeited alarm, he fled to Tcherkask, followed by sixty-five tents. From this place he kept up a correspondence with the imperial court, and, by way of soliciting his cause more effectually, he soon repaired in 5 person to St. Petersburg. Once admitted to personal conferences with the cabinet, he found no difficulty in winning over the Russian councils to a concurrence with some of his political views, and thus covertly introducing the point of that wedge which was finally to accomplish 10 his purposes. In particular, he persuaded the Russian Government to make a very important alteration in the constitution of the Kalmuck state council, which in effect reorganized the whole political condition of the state, and disturbed the balance of power as previously 15 adjusted. Of this council, in the Kalmuck language called *sarga*, there were eight members, called *sargatchi*; and hitherto it had been the custom that these eight members should be entirely subordinate to the khan, holding, in fact, the ministerial character of 20 secretaries and assistants, but in no respect acting as co-ordinate authorities. That had produced some inconveniences in former reigns; and it was easy for Zebek-Dorchi to point the jealousy of the Russian court to others more serious which might arise in future circumstances 25 of war or other contingencies. It was resolved, therefore, to place the *sargatchi* henceforward on a footing of perfect independence, and therefore (as regarded responsibility) on a footing of equality with the khan. Their independence, however, had respect only to their

own sovereign ; for towards Russia they were placed in a new attitude of direct duty and accountability by the creation in their favor of small pensions (three hundred rubles a year), which, however, to a Kalmuck of that day, were more considerable than might be supposed, 5 and had a further value as marks of honorary distinction emanating from a great empress. Thus far the purposes of Zebek-Dorchi were served effectually for the moment ; but apparently it was only for the moment, since, in the further development of his plots, this very 10 dependency upon Russian influence would be the most serious obstacle in his way. There was, however, another point carried, which outweighed all inferior considerations, as it gave him a power of setting aside discretionally whatsoever should arise to disturb his 15 plots : he was himself appointed president and controller of the *sargatchi*. The Russian court had been aware of his high pretensions by birth, and hoped by this promotion to satisfy the ambition which, in some degree, was acknowledged to be a reasonable passion for 20 any man occupying his situation.

Having thus completely blindfolded the cabinet of Russia, Zebek-Dorchi proceeded in his new character to fulfil his political mission with the khan of the Kalmucks. So artfully did he prepare the road for his 25 favorable reception at the court of this prince, that he was at once and universally welcomed as a benefactor. The pensions of the councillors were so much additional wealth poured into the Tartar exchequer : as to the ties

of dependency thus created, experience had not yet enlightened these simple tribes as to that result. And that he himself should be the chief of these mercenary councillors was so far from being charged upon Zebek 5 as any offence, or any ground of suspicion, that his relative the khan returned him hearty thanks for his services, under the belief that he could have accepted this appointment only with a view to keep out other and more unwelcome pretenders, who would not have had 10 the same motives of consanguinity or friendship for executing its duties in a spirit of kindness to the Kal-mucks. The first use which he made of his new functions about the khan's person was to attack the court of Russia, by a romantic villany not easy to be credited, 15 for those very acts of interference with the council which he himself had prompted. This was a dangerous step; but it was indispensable to his further advance upon the gloomy path which he had traced out for himself. A triple vengeance was what he meditated: (1) upon 20 the Russian cabinet, for having undervalued his own pretensions to the throne; (2) upon his amiable rival, for having supplanted him; and (3) upon all those of the nobility who had manifested their sense of his weakness by their neglect, or their sense of his perfidious 25 character by their suspicions. Here was a colossal outline of wickedness; and by one in his situation, feeble (as it might seem) for the accomplishment of its humblest parts, how was the total edifice to be reared in its comprehensive grandeur? He, a worm as he was, could

he venture to assail the mighty behemoth of Muscovy, the potentate who counted three hundred languages around the footsteps of his throne, and from whose “lion ramp” recoiled alike “baptized and infidel,” — Christendom on the one side, strong by her intellect 5 and her organization, and the “barbaric East” on the other, with her unnumbered numbers? The match was a monstrous one; but in its very monstrosity there lay this germ of encouragement, — that it could not be suspected. The very hopelessness of the scheme grounded 10 his hope; and he resolved to execute a vengeance which should involve, as it were, in the unity of a well-laid tragic fable, all whom he judged to be his enemies. That vengeance lay in detaching from the Russian Empire the whole Kalmuck nation, and breaking up that 15 system of intercourse which had thus far been beneficial to both. This last was a consideration which moved him but little. True it was that Russia to the Kalmucks had secured lands and extensive pasturage; true it was that the Kalmucks reciprocally to Russia had 20 furnished a powerful cavalry. But the latter loss would be part of his triumph, and the former might be more than compensated in other climates, under other sovereigns. Here was a scheme, which, in its final accomplishment, would avenge him bitterly on the Czarina, 25 and in the course of its accomplishment might furnish him with ample occasions for removing his other enemies. It may be readily supposed, indeed, that he who could deliberately raise his eyes to the Russian autocrat

as an antagonist in single duel with himself was not likely to feel much anxiety about Kalmuck enemies of whatever rank. He took his resolution, therefore, sternly and irrevocably to effect this astonishing translation of an ancient people across the pathless deserts of Central Asia, intersected continually by rapid rivers rarely furnished with bridges, and of which the fords were known only to those who might think it for their interest to conceal them, through many nations inhospitable or hostile, — frost and snow around them (from the necessity of commencing their flight in the winter), famine in their front, and the sabre, or even the artillery, of an offended and mighty empress hanging upon their rear for thousands of miles. But what was to be their final mark, the port of shelter after so fearful a course of wandering? Two things were evident: it must be some power at a great distance from Russia, so as to make return even in that view hopeless; and it must be a power of sufficient rank to insure them protection from any hostile efforts on the part of the Czarina for reclaiming them or for chastising their revolt. Both conditions were united obviously in the person of Kien Long, the reigning Emperor of China, who was further recommended to them by his respect for the head of their religion. To China, therefore, and, as their first rendezvous, to the shadow of the great Chinese Wall, it was settled by Zebek that they should direct their flight.

Next came the question of time, *When* should the

flight commence? and, finally, the more delicate question as to the choice of accomplices. To extend the knowledge of the conspiracy too far was to insure its betrayal to the Russian government. Yet, at some stage of the preparations it was evident that a very 5 extensive confidence must be made, because in no other way could the mass of the Kalmuck population be persuaded to furnish their families with the requisite equipments for so long a migration. This critical step, however, it was resolved to defer up to the latest possible moment, and at all events to make no general communication on the subject until the time of departure should be definitely settled. In the meantime Zebek admitted only three persons to his confidence, of whom Oubacha, the reigning prince, was almost necessarily 15 one; but him, from his yielding and somewhat feeble character, he viewed rather in the light of a tool than as one of his active accomplices. Those whom (if anybody) he admitted to an unreserved participation in his counsels were two only, — the great lama among the 20 Kalmucks, and his own father-in-law, Erempel, a ruling prince of some tribe in the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea, recommended to his favor not so much by any strength of talent corresponding to the occasion, as by his blind devotion to himself and his passionate anxiety 25 to promote the elevation of his daughter and his son-in-law to the throne of a sovereign prince. A titular prince, Zebek already was; but this dignity, without the substantial accompaniment of a sceptre, seemed but

an empty sound to both of these ambitious rebels. The other accomplice, whose name was Loosang-Dchaltzan, and whose rank was that of lama, or Kalmuck pontiff, was a person of far more distinguished pretensions. He
5 had something of the same gloomy and terrific pride which marked the character of Zebek himself, manifesting also the same energy, accompanied by the same unfaltering cruelty, and a natural facility of dissimulation even more profound. It was by this man that the other
10 question was settled as to the time for giving effect to their designs. His own pontifical character had suggested to him, that in order to strengthen their influence with the vast mob of simple-minded men whom they were to lead into a howling wilderness, after persuading
15 them to lay desolate their own ancient hearths, it was indispensable that they should be able, in cases of extremity, to plead the express sanction of God for their entire enterprise. This could only be done by addressing themselves to the great head of their religion,—
20 the dalai lama of Thibet. Him they easily persuaded to countenance their schemes; and an oracle was delivered solemnly at Thibet, to the effect that no ultimate prosperity would attend this great exodus unless it were pursued through the years of the *tiger* and the *hare*.
25 Now, the Kalmuck custom is to distinguish their years by attaching to each a denomination taken from one of twelve animals, the exact order of succession being absolutely fixed; so that the cycle revolves, of course, through a period of a dozen years. Consequently, if

the approaching year of the *tiger* were suffered to escape them, in that case the expedition must be delayed for twelve years more; within which period, even were no other unfavorable changes to arise, it was pretty well foreseen that the Russian government would take the 5 most effectual means for bridling their vagrant propensities by a ring fence of forts, or military posts, to say nothing of the still readier plan for securing their fidelity (a plan already talked of in all quarters) by exacting a large body of hostages selected from the 10 families of the most influential nobles. On these cogent considerations it was solemnly determined that this terrific experiment should be made in the next year of the *tiger*, which happened to fall upon the Christian year 1771. With respect to the month, there was, unhappily 15 for the Kalmucks, even less latitude allowed to their choice than with respect to the year. It was absolutely necessary, or it was thought so, that the different divisions of the nation, which pastured their flocks on both banks of the Volga, should have the means of effecting 20 an instantaneous junction, because the danger of being intercepted by flying columns of the imperial armies was precisely the greatest at the outset. Now, from the want of bridges, or sufficient river craft for transporting so vast a body of men, the sole means which 25 could be depended upon (especially where so many women, children, and camels were concerned) was *ice*; and this, in a state of sufficient firmness, could not be absolutely counted upon before the month of January.

Hence it happened that this astonishing exodus of a whole nation — before so much as a whisper of the design had begun to circulate among those whom it most interested, before it was even suspected that any man's 5 wishes pointed in that direction — had been definitively appointed for January of the year 1771; and, almost up to the Christmas of 1770, the poor, simple Kalmuck herdsmen and their families were going nightly to their peaceful beds without even dreaming that the fiat had 10 already gone forth from their rulers which consigned those quiet abodes, together with the peace and comfort which reigned within them, to a withering desolation, now close at hand.

Meantime war raged on a great scale between Russia 15 and the Sultan; and, until the time arrived for throwing off their vassalage, it was necessary that Oubacha should contribute his usual contingent of martial aid. Nay, it had unfortunately become prudent that he should contribute much more than his usual aid. Human exper- 20 ence gives ample evidence that in some mysterious and unaccountable way no great design is ever agitated, no matter how few or how faithful may be the participants, but that some presentiment, some dim misgiving, is kindled among those whom it is chiefly important to 25 blind. And, however it might have happened, certain it is that already, when as yet no syllable of the conspiracy had been breathed to any man whose very existence was not staked upon its concealment, nevertheless some vague and uneasy jealousy had arisen in the Rus-

sian cabinet as to the future schemes of the Kalmuck khan; and very probable it is, that but for the war then raging, and the consequent prudence of conciliating a very important vassal, or at least of abstaining from what would powerfully alienate him, even at that moment, such measures would have been adopted as must forever have intercepted the Kalmuck schemes. Slight as were the jealousies of the imperial court, they had not escaped the Machiavellian eyes of Zebek and the lama; and under their guidance, Oubacha, bending to 10 the circumstances of the moment, and meeting the jealousy of the Russian court with a policy corresponding to their own, strove by unusual zeal to efface the Czarina's unfavorable impressions. He enlarged the scale of his contributions, and that so prodigiously, that he 15 absolutely carried to headquarters a force of thirty-five thousand cavalry, fully equipped. Some go further, and rate the amount beyond forty thousand; but the smaller estimate is, at all events, within the truth.

With this magnificent array of cavalry, heavy as well 20 as light, the khan went into the field under great expectations; and these he more than realized. Having the good fortune to be concerned with so ill-organized and disorderly a description of force as that which at all times composed the bulk of a Turkish army, he carried 25 victory along with his banners, gained many partial successes, and at last, in a pitched battle, overthrew the Turkish force opposed to him, with a loss of five thousand men left upon the field.

These splendid achievements seemed likely to operate in various ways against the impending revolt. Oubacha had now a strong motive, in the martial glory acquired, for continuing his connection with the empire in whose service he had won it, and by whom only it could be fully appreciated. He was now a great marshal of a great empire,—one of the paladins around the imperial throne; in China he would be nobody, or (worse than that) a mendicant alien, prostrate at the feet, and so eliciting the precarious alms, of a prince with whom he had no connection. Besides, it might reasonably be expected that the Czarina, grateful for the really efficient aid given by the Tartar prince, would confer upon him such eminent rewards as might be sufficient to anchor his hopes upon Russia and to wean him from every possible seduction. These were the obvious suggestions of prudence and good sense to every man who stood neutral in the case. But they were disappointed. The Czarina knew her obligations to the khan; but she did not acknowledge them. Wherefore? That is a mystery perhaps never to be explained. So it was, however. The khan went unhonored; no ukase ever proclaimed his merits; and perhaps, had he even been abundantly recompensed by Russia, there were others who would have defeated these tendencies to reconciliation. Erem-pel, Zebek, and Loosang the lama were pledged life-deep to prevent any accommodation; and their efforts were unfortunately seconded by those of their deadliest enemies. In the Russian court there were at that time

some great nobles preoccupied with feelings of hatred and blind malice towards the Kalmucks, quite as strong as any which the Kalmucks could harbor towards Russia, and not, perhaps, so well founded. Just as much as the Kalmucks hated the Russian yoke, their galling 5 assumption of authority, the marked air of disdain, as towards a nation of ugly, stupid, and filthy barbarians, which too generally marked the Russian bearing and language, — but, above all, the insolent contempt, or even outrages, which the Russian governors or great mil- 10 itary commandants tolerated in their followers towards the barbarous religion and superstitious mummeries of the Kalmuck priesthood, — precisely in that extent did the ferocity of the Russian resentment, and their wrath at seeing the trampled worm turn, or attempt a feeble 15 retaliation, react upon the unfortunate Kalmucks. At this crisis it is probable that envy and wounded pride, upon witnessing the splendid victories of Oubacha and Momotbacha over the Turks and Bashkirs, contributed strength to the Russian irritation; and it must have 20 been through the intrigues of those nobles about her person who chiefly smarted under these feelings, that the Czarina could ever have lent herself to the unwise and ungrateful policy pursued at this critical period towards the Kalmuck khan. That Czarina was no longer 25 Elizabeth Petrowna: it was Catharine II., a princess who did not often err so injuriously (injuriously for herself as much as for others) in the measures of her government. She had soon ample reason for repenting of

her false policy. Meantime, how much it must have co-operated with the other motives previously acting upon Oubacha in sustaining his determination to revolt, and how powerfully it must have assisted the efforts of
5 all the Tartar chieftains in preparing the minds of their people to feel the necessity of this difficult enterprise, by arming their pride and their suspicions against the Russian government, through the keenness of their sympathy with the wrongs of their insulted prince, may be
10 readily imagined. It is a fact, and it has been confessed by candid Russians themselves when treating of this great dismemberment, that the conduct of the Russian cabinet throughout the period of suspense, and during the crisis of hesitation in the Kalmuck council, was
15 exactly such as was most desirable for the purposes of the conspirators: it was such, in fact, as to set the seal to all their machinations, by supplying distinct evidences and official vouchers for what could otherwise have been, at the most, matters of doubtful suspicion
20 and indirect presumption.

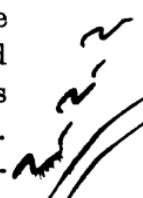
Nevertheless, in the face of all these arguments, and even allowing their weight so far as not at all to deny the injustice or the impolicy of the imperial ministers, it is contended by many persons who have reviewed the
25 affair with a command of all the documents bearing on the case, more especially the letters or minutes of council subsequently discovered, in the handwriting of Zebek-Dorchi, and the important evidence of the Russian captive Weseloff, who was carried off by the Kalmucks in their

flight, that beyond all doubt Oubacha was powerless for any purpose of impeding or even of delaying the revolt. He himself, indeed, was under religious obligations of the most terrific solemnity never to flinch from the enterprise, or even to slacken in his zeal ; for Zebek-Dorchi, 5 distrusting the firmness of his resolution under any unusual pressure of alarm or difficulty, had, in the very earliest stage of the conspiracy, availed himself of the khan's well-known superstition to engage him, by means of previous concert with the priests and their head the 10 lama, in some dark and mysterious rites of consecration, terminating in oaths under such terrific sanctions as no Kalmuck would have courage to violate. As far, therefore, as regarded the personal share of the khan in what was to come, Zebek was entirely at his ease. He knew 15 him to be so deeply pledged by religious terrors to the prosecution of the conspiracy that no honors within the Czarina's gift could have possibly shaken his adhesion ; and then, as to threats from the same quarter, he knew him to be sealed against those fears by others 20 of a gloomier character, and better adapted to his peculiar temperament. For Oubacha was a brave man as respected all bodily enemies or the dangers of human warfare, but was as sensitive and timid as the most superstitious of old women in facing the frowns of a 25 priest, or under the vague anticipations of ghostly retrIBUTIONS. But had it been otherwise, and had there been any reason to apprehend an unsteady demeanor on the part of this prince at the approach of the critical

moment, such were the changes already effected in the state of their domestic politics amongst the Tartars by the undermining arts of Zebek-Dorchi and his ally the lama, that very little importance would have attached to
5 that doubt. All power was now effectually lodged in the hand of Zebek-Dorchi. He was the true and absolute wielder of the Kalmuck sceptre; all measures of importance were submitted to his discretion, and nothing was finally resolved but under his dictation. This result
10 he had brought about, in a year or two, by means sufficiently simple: first of all, by availing himself of the prejudice in his favor, so largely diffused among the lowest of the Kalmucks, that his own title to the throne, in quality of great-grandson in a direct line from Ajouka,
15 the most illustrious of all the Kalmuck khans, stood upon a better basis than that of Oubacha, who derived from a collateral branch; secondly, with respect to that sole advantage which Oubacha possessed above himself in the ratification of his title, by improving this differ-
20 ence between their situations to the disadvantage of his competitor, as one who had not scrupled to accept that triumph from an alien power at the price of his independence, which he himself (as he would have it understood) disdained to court; thirdly, by his own talents
25 and address, coupled with the ferocious energy of his moral character; fourthly, and perhaps in an equal degree, by the criminal facility and good nature of Oubacha; finally (which is remarkable enough, as illustrating the character of the man), by that very new

modelling of the *sarga*, or privy council, which he had used as a principal topic of abuse and malicious insinuation against the Russian Government, while in reality he first had suggested the alteration to the empress, and he chiefly appropriated the political advantages which it 5 was fitted to yield. For, as he was himself appointed the chief of the *sargatchi*, and as the pensions to the inferior *sargatchi* passed through his hands, while in effect they owed their appointments to his nomination, it may be easily supposed, that whatever power existed in the 10 state capable of controlling the khan being held by the *sarga* under its new organization, and this body being completely under his influence, the final result was to throw all the functions of the state, whether nominally in the prince or in the council, substantially into the 15 hands of this one man; while, at the same time, from the strict league which he maintained with the lama, all the thunders of his spiritual power were always ready to come in aid of the magistrate, or to supply his incapacity in cases which he could not reach. 20

But the time was now rapidly approaching for the mighty experiment. The day was drawing near on which the signal was to be given for raising the standard of revolt, and, by a combined movement on both sides of the Volga, for spreading the smoke of one vast 25 conflagration that should wrap in a common blaze their own huts and the stately cities of their enemies over the breadth and length of those great provinces in which their flocks were dispersed. The year of the *tiger* was

now within one little month of its commencement. The fifth morning of that year was fixed for the fatal day when the fortunes and happiness of a whole nation were to be put upon the hazard of a dicer's throw ; and as yet 5 that nation was in profound ignorance of the whole plan. The khan, such was the kindness of his nature, could not bring himself to make the revelation so urgently required. It was clear, however, that this could not be delayed ; and Zebek-Dorchi took the task willingly upon 10 himself. But where or how should this notification be made, so as to exclude Russian hearers ? After some deliberation the following plan was adopted : Couriers, it was contrived, should arrive in furious haste, one upon the heels of another, reporting a sudden inroad 15 of the Kirghises and Bashkirs upon the Kalmuck lands at a point distant about one hundred and twenty miles. Thither all the Kalmuck families, according to immemo-rial custom, were required to send a separate representa-
tive ; and there, accordingly, within three days, all 20 appeared. The distance, the solitary ground appointed for the rendezvous, the rapidity of the march, all tended to make it almost certain that no Russian could be present. Zebek-Dorchi then came forward. He did not waste many words upon rhetoric. He unfurled an im-
25 mense sheet of parchment, visible from the outermost distance at which any of this vast crowd could stand. The total number amounted to eighty thousand : all saw, and many heard. They were told of the oppressions of Russia ; of her pride and haughty disdain, evidenced

towards them by a thousand acts ; of her contempt for their religion ; of her determination to reduce them to absolute slavery ; of the preliminary measures she had already taken by erecting forts upon many of the great rivers in their neighborhood ; of the ulterior intentions 5 she thus announced to circumscribe their pastoral lands, until they would all be obliged to renounce their flocks and to collect in towns like Sarepta, there to pursue mechanical and servile trades of shoemaker, tailor, and weaver, such as the freeborn Tartar had always dis- 10 dained. “Then, again,” said the subtle prince, “she increases her military levies upon our population every year. We pour out our blood as young men in her defence, or more often in support of her insolent aggressions ; and as old men we reap nothing from our suffer- 15 ings, nor benefit by our survivorship where so many are sacrificed.” At this point of his harangue, Zebek produced several papers (forged, as it is generally believed, by himself and the lama) containing projects of the Russian court for a general transfer of the eldest sons, 20 taken *en masse* from the greatest Kalmuck families, to the imperial court. “Now, let this be once accomplished,” he argued, “and there is an end of all useful resistance from that day forward. Petitions we might make, or even remonstrances ; as men of words, we 25 might play a bold part : but for deeds, for that sort of language by which our ancestors were used to speak, holding us by such a chain, Russia would make a jest of our wishes, knowing full well that we should not dare to make any effectual movement.”

Having thus sufficiently roused the angry passions of his vast audience, and having alarmed their fears by this pretended scheme against their firstborn (an artifice which was indispensable to his purpose, because it met 5 beforehand *every* form of amendment to his proposal coming from the more moderate nobles, who would not otherwise have failed to insist upon trying the effect of bold addresses to the empress before resorting to any desperate extremity), Zebek-Dorchi opened his scheme 10 of revolt, and, if so, of instant revolt; since any preparations reported at St. Petersburg would be a signal for the armies of Russia to cross into such positions from all parts of Asia as would effectually intercept their march. It is remarkable, however, that, with all his 15 audacity and his reliance upon the momentary excitement of the Kalmucks, the subtle prince did not venture at this stage of his seduction to make so startling a proposal as that of a flight to China. All that he held out for the present was a rapid march to the Temba or some 20 other great river, which they were to cross, and to take up a strong position on the farther bank, from which, as from a post of conscious security, they could hold a bolder language to the Czarina, and one which would have a better chance of winning a favorable audience.

25 These things, in the irritated condition of the simple Tartars, passed by acclamation; and all returned home-wards to push forward with the most furious speed the preparations for their awful undertaking. Rapid and energetic these of necessity were; and in that degree

they became noticeable and manifest to the Russians who happened to be intermingled with the different hordes, either on commercial errands or as agents officially from the Russian government,—some in a financial, others in a diplomatic character.

5

Among these last (indeed, at the head of them) was a Russian of some distinction, by name Kichinskoi, a man memorable for his vanity, and memorable also as one of the many victims to the Tartar revolution. This Kichinskoi had been sent by the empress as her envoy to 10 overlook the conduct of the Kalmucks. He was styled the *grand pristaw*, or great commissioner, and was universally known among the Tartar tribes by this title. His mixed character of ambassador and of political *surveillant*, combined with the dependent state of the Kal- 15 mucks, gave him a real weight in the Tartar councils, and might have given him a far greater, had not his outrageous self-conceit and his arrogant confidence in his own authority, as due chiefly to his personal qualities for command, led him into such harsh displays of power 20 and menaces so odious to the Tartar pride as very soon made him an object of their profoundest malice. He had publicly insulted the khan; and upon making a communication to him to the effect that some reports began to circulate, and even to reach the empress, of a 25 design in agitation to fly from the imperial dominions, he had ventured to say, “But this you dare not attempt. I laugh at such rumors: yes, khan, I laugh at them to the empress; for you are a chained bear, and that you

know." The khan turned away on his heel with marked disdain; and the pristaw, foaming at the mouth, continued to utter, amongst those of the khan's attendants who stayed behind to catch his real sentiments in a moment of unguarded passion, all that the blindest frenzy of rage could suggest to the most presumptuous of fools. It was now ascertained that suspicions *had* arisen; but at the same time it was ascertained that the pristaw spoke no more than the truth in representing himself to have discredited these suspicions. The fact was, that the mere infatuation of vanity made him believe that nothing could go on undetected by his all-piercing sagacity, and that no rebellion could prosper when rebuked by his commanding presence. The Tartars, therefore, pursued their preparations, confiding in the obstinate blindness of the grand pristaw, as in their perfect safeguard; and such it proved, to his own ruin as well as that of myriads beside.

Christmas arrived; and a little before that time courier upon courier came dropping in, one upon the very heels of another, to St. Petersburg, assuring the czarina that beyond all doubt the Kalmucks were in the very crisis of departure. These despatches came from the governor of Astrachan; and copies were instantly forwarded to Kichinskoi. Now, it happened that between this governor, a Russian named Beketoff, and the pristaw, had been an ancient feud. The very name of Beketoff inflamed his resentment; and no sooner did he see that hated name attached to the despatch than

he felt himself confirmed in his former views with ten-fold bigotry, and wrote instantly, in terms of the most pointed ridicule, against the new alarmist, pledging his own head upon the visionariness of his alarms. Beke-töff, however, was not to be put down by a few hard 5 words or by ridicule. He persisted in his statements. The Russian ministry were confounded by the obstinacy of the disputants ; and some were beginning even to treat the governor of Astrachan as a bore and as the dupe of his own nervous terrors, when the memorable 10 day arrived, the fatal 5th of January, which forever terminated the dispute, and put a seal upon the earthly hopes and fortunes of unnumbered myriads. The governor of Astrachan was the first to hear the news. Stung by the mixed furies of jealousy, of triumphant ven- 15 geance, and of anxious ambition, he sprang into his sledge, and at the rate of three hundred miles a day pursued his route to St. Petersburg, rushed into the imperial presence, announced the total realization of his worst predictions, and upon the confirmation of this 20 intelligence by subsequent despatches from many different posts on the Volga, he received an imperial commission to seize the person of his deluded enemy and to keep him in strict captivity. These orders were eagerly fulfilled ; and the unfortunate Kichinskoi soon after- 25 ward expired of grief and mortification in the gloomy solitude of a dungeon, — a victim to his own immeasurable vanity and the blinding self-delusions of a presumption that refused all warning.

The governor of Astrachan had been but too faithful a prophet. Perhaps even *he* was surprised at the suddenness with which the verification followed his reports. Precisely on the 5th of January, the day so solemnly appointed under religious sanctions by the lama, the Kalmucks on the east bank of the Volga were seen at the earliest dawn of day assembling by troops and squadrons and in the tumultuous movement of some great morning of battle. Tens of thousands continued moving off the ground at every half hour's interval. Women and children, to the amount of two hundred thousand and upwards, were placed upon wagons or upon camels, and drew off by masses of twenty thousand at once, placed under suitable escorts, and continually swelled in numbers by other outlying bodies of the horde who kept falling in at various distances upon the first and second day's march. From sixty to eighty thousand of those who were the best mounted stayed behind the rest of the tribes, with purposes of devastation and plunder more violent than prudence justified or the amiable character of the khan could be supposed to approve. But in this, as in other instances, he was completely overruled by the malignant counsels of Zebek-Dorchi. The first tempest of the desolating fury of the Tartars discharged itself upon their own habitations. But this, as cutting off all infirm looking backward from the hardships of their march, had been thought so necessary a measure by all the chieftains, that even Oubacha himself was the first to authorize

the act by his own example. He seized a torch, previously prepared with materials the most durable as well as combustible, and steadily applied it to the timbers of his own palace. Nothing was saved from the general wreck except the portable part of the domestic 5 utensils and that part of the woodwork which could be applied to the manufacture of the long Tartar lances. This chapter in their memorable day's work being finished, and the whole of their villages throughout a district of ten thousand square miles in one simultaneous 10 blaze, the Tartars waited for further orders.

These, it was intended, should have taken a character of valedictory vengeance, and thus have left behind to the Czarina a dreadful commentary upon the main motives of their flight. It was the purpose of Zebek- 15 Dorchi that all the Russian towns, churches, and buildings of every description should be given up to pillage and destruction, and such treatment applied to the defenceless inhabitants as might naturally be expected from a fierce people already infuriated by the spectacle 20 of their own outrages and by the bloody retaliations which they must necessarily have provoked. This part of the tragedy, however, was happily intercepted by a providential disappointment at the very crisis of departure. It has been mentioned already that the motive 25 for selecting the depth of winter as the season of flight (which otherwise was obviously the very worst possible) had been the impossibility of effecting a junction sufficiently rapid with the tribes on the west of the Volga, in

the absence of bridges, unless by a natural bridge of ice. For this one advantage the Kalmuck leaders had consented to aggravate by a thousandfold the calamities inevitable to a rapid flight over boundless tracts of country with women, children, and herds of cattle,— for this one single advantage; and yet, after all, it was lost. The reason never has been explained satisfactorily; but the fact was such. Some have said that the signals were not properly concerted for marking the moment of absolute departure; that is, for signifying whether the settled intention of the eastern Kalmucks might not have been suddenly interrupted by adverse intelligence. Others have supposed that the ice might not be equally strong on both sides of the river, and might even be generally insecure for the treading of heavy and heavily laden animals such as camels. But the prevailing notion is, that some accidental movements, on the 3d and 4th of January, of Russian troops in the neighborhood of the western Kalmucks, though really having no reference to them or their plans, had been construed into certain signs that all was discovered, and that the prudence of the western chieftains, who, from situation, had never been exposed to those intrigues which Zebek-Dorchi had practised upon the pride of the eastern tribes, now stepped in to save their people from ruin. Be the cause what it might, it is certain that the western Kalmucks were in some way prevented from forming the intended junction with their brethren of the opposite bank; and the result was, that at least

one hundred thousand of these Tartars were left behind in Russia. This accident it was which saved their Russian neighbors universally from the desolation which else awaited them. One general massacre and conflagration would assuredly have surprised them, to the utter 5 extermination of their property, their houses, and themselves, had it not been for this disappointment. But the eastern chieftains did not dare to put to hazard the safety of their brethren under the first impulse of the Czarina's vengeance for so dreadful a tragedy; for, as 10 they were well aware of too many circumstances by which she might discover the concurrence of the western people in the general scheme of revolt, they justly feared that she would thence infer their concurrence also in the bloody events which marked its outset. 15

Little did the western Kalmucks guess what reasons they also had for gratitude on account of an interpolation so unexpected, and which, at the moment, they so generally deplored. Could they but have witnessed the thousandth part of the sufferings which overtook 20 their eastern brethren in the first month of their sad flight, they would have blessed Heaven for their own narrow escape; and yet these sufferings of the first month were but a prelude or foretaste comparatively slight of those which afterwards succeeded. 25

For now began to unroll the most awful series of calamities, and the most extensive, which is anywhere recorded to have visited the sons and daughters of men. It is possible that the sudden inroads of destroying

nations — such as the Huns, or the Avars, or the Mongol Tartars — may have inflicted misery as extensive; but there the misery and the desolation would be sudden, like the flight of volleying lightning. Those who 5 were spared at first would generally be spared to the end; those who perished at all would perish at once. It is possible that the French retreat from Moscow may have made some nearer approach to this calamity in duration, though still a feeble and miniature approach, 10 for the French sufferings did not commence in good earnest until about one month from the time of leaving Moscow; and though it is true that afterwards the vials of wrath were emptied upon the devoted army for six or seven weeks in succession, yet what is that to this 15 Kalmuck tragedy, which lasted for more than as many months? But the main feature of horror, by which the Tartar march was distinguished from the French, lies in the accompaniment of women and children. There were both, it is true, with the French army, but not so many 20 as to bear any marked proportion to the total numbers concerned. The French, in short, were merely an army, — a host of professional destroyers, whose regular trade was bloodshed, and whose regular element was danger and suffering. But the Tartars were a nation carrying 25 along with them more than two hundred and fifty thousand women and children, utterly unequal, for the most part, to any contest with the calamities before them. The children of Israel were in the same circumstances as to the accompaniment of their families; but they were

released from the pursuit of their enemies in a very early stage of their flight; and their subsequent residence in the desert was not a march, but a continued halt, and under a continued interposition of Heaven for their comfortable support. Earthquakes, again, however comprehensive in their ravages, are shocks of a moment's duration. A much nearer approach made to the wide range and the long duration of the Kalmuck tragedy may have been in a pestilence such as that which visited Athens in the Peloponnesian War, or London in the 10 reign of Charles II. There, also, the martyrs were counted by myriads, and the period of the desolation was counted by months. But, after all, the total amount of destruction was on a smaller scale; and there was this feature of alleviation to the *conscious* pressure of the 15 calamity,—that the misery was withdrawn from public notice into private chambers and hospitals. The siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian and his son, taken in its entire circumstances, comes nearest of all for breadth and depth of suffering, for duration, for the exasperation of 20 the suffering from without by internal feuds, and, finally, for that last most appalling expression of the furnace heat of the anguish in its power to extinguish the natural affections even of maternal love. But, after all, each case had circumstances of romantic misery peculiar 25 to itself,—circumstances without precedent, and (whatever human nature is ennobled by Christianity), it may be confidently hoped, never to be repeated.

The first point to be reached, before any hope of re-

pose could be encouraged, was the river Ural. This was not above three hundred miles from the main point of departure on the Volga; and, if the march thither was to be a forced one and a severe one, it was alleged, on the other hand, that the suffering would be the more brief and transient: one summary exertion, not to be repeated, and all was achieved. Forced the march was, and severe beyond example,—there the forewarning proved correct,—but the promised rest proved a mere phantom of the wilderness, a visionary rainbow, which fled before their hope-sick eyes, across these interminable solitudes, for seven months of hardship and calamity, without a pause. These sufferings, by their very nature and the circumstances under which they arose, were (like the scenery of the steppes) somewhat monotonous in their coloring and external features. What variety, however, there was, will be most naturally exhibited by tracing historically the successive stages of the general misery exactly as it unfolded itself under the double agency of weakness still increasing from within and hostile pressure from without. Viewed in this manner, under the real order of development, it is remarkable that these sufferings of the Tartars, though under the moulding hands of accident, arrange themselves almost with a scenical propriety. They seem combined as with the skill of an artist, the intensity of the misery advancing regularly with the advances of the march, and the stages of the calamity corresponding to the stages of the route; so that, upon raising the curtain which veils

the great catastrophe, we behold one vast climax of anguish, towering upwards by regular gradations, as if constructed artificially for picturesque effect,—a result which might not have been surprising, had it been reasonable to anticipate the same rate of speed, and even 5 an accelerated rate, as prevailing through the later stages of the expedition. But it seemed, on the contrary, most reasonable to calculate upon a continual decrement in the rate of motion according to the increasing distance from the headquarters of the pursuing enemy. This 10 calculation, however, was defeated by the extraordinary circumstance that the Russian armies did not begin to close in very fiercely upon the Kalmucks until after they had accomplished a distance of full two thousand miles. One thousand miles farther on, the assaults became even 15 more tumultuous and murderous; and already the great shadows of the Chinese Wall were dimly descried, when the frenzy and *acharnement* of the pursuers and the bloody desperation of the miserable fugitives had reached its uttermost extremity. Let us briefly rehearse the 20 main stages of the misery, and trace the ascending steps of the tragedy according to the great divisions of the route marked out by the central rivers of Asia.

The first stage, we have already said, was from the Volga to the Ural; the distance about three hundred 25 miles; the time allowed seven days. For the first week, therefore, the rate of marching averaged about forty-three English miles a day. The weather was cold but bracing; and at a more moderate pace this part of the

journey might have been accomplished without much distress by a people as hardy as the Kalmucks. As it was, the cattle suffered greatly from overdriving; milk began to fail even for the children; the sheep perished 5 by wholesale; and the children themselves were saved only by the innumerable camels.

The Cossacks who dwelt upon the banks of the Ural were the first among the subjects of Russia to come into collision with the Kalmucks. Great was their surprise 10 at the suddenness of the irruption, and great, also, their consternation; for, according to their settled custom, by far the greater part of their number was absent during the winter months at the fisheries upon the Caspian. Some who were liable to surprise at the most exposed 15 points fled in crowds to the fortress of Koulagina, which was immediately invested and summoned by Oubacha. He had, however, in his train only a few light pieces of artillery; and the Russian commandant at Koulagina, being aware of the hurried circumstances in which the 20 khan was placed, and that he stood upon the very edge, as it were, of a renewed flight, felt encouraged by these considerations to a more obstinate resistance than might else have been advisable with an enemy so little disposed to observe the usages of civilized warfare. The period 25 of his anxiety was not long. On the fifth day of the siege he descried from the walls a succession of Tartar couriers, mounted upon fleet Bactrian camels, crossing the vast plains around the fortress at a furious pace, and riding into the Kalmuck encampment at various points.

Great agitation appeared immediately to follow. Orders were soon after despatched in all directions; and it became speedily known that upon a distant flank of the Kalmuck movement a bloody and exterminating battle had been fought the day before, in which one entire tribe ⁵ of the khan's dependants, numbering not less than nine thousand fighting men, had perished to the last man. This was the *ouloss*, or clan, called *Feka-Zechorr*, between whom and the Cossacks there was a feud of ancient standing. In selecting, therefore, the points of attack, ¹⁰ on occasion of the present hasty inroad, the Cossack chiefs were naturally eager so to direct their efforts as to combine with the service of the empress some gratification to their own party hatreds, more especially as the present was likely to be their final opportunity for ¹⁵ revenge, if the Kalmuck evasion should prosper. Having, therefore, concentrated as large a body of Cossack cavalry as circumstances allowed, they attacked the hostile *ouloss* with a precipitation which denied to it all means for communicating with Oubacha; for the necessity of commanding an ample range of pasture, to meet the necessities of their vast flocks and herds, had separated this *ouloss* from the khan's headquarters by an interval of eighty miles: and thus it was, and ^{not} from oversight, that it came to be thrown entirely upon its ²⁵ own resources. These had proved insufficient. Retreat, from the exhausted state of their horses and camels, no less than from the prodigious incumbrances of their live stock, was absolutely out of the question. Quarter

was disdained on the one side, and would not have been granted on the other ; and thus it had happened that the setting sun of that one day (the thirteenth from the first opening of the revolt) threw his parting rays upon the 5 final agonies of an ancient *ouloss*, stretched upon a bloody field, who on that day's dawning had held and styled themselves an independent nation.

Universal consternation was diffused through the wide borders of the khan's encampment by this disastrous intelligence, not so much on account of the numbers slain, or the total extinction of a powerful ally, as because the position of the Cossack force was likely to put to hazard the future advances of the Kalnucks, or at least to retard and hold them in check until the heavier columns 15 of the Russian army should arrive upon their flanks.

The siege of Koulagina was instantly raised ; and that signal, so fatal to the happiness of the women and children, once again resounded through the tents, — the signal for flight, and this time for a flight more rapid 20 than ever. About one hundred and fifty miles ahead of their present position there arose a tract of hilly country, forming a sort of margin to the vast, sealike expanse of champaign savannas, steppes, and occasionally of sandy deserts, which stretched away on each side of this margin 25 both eastwards and westwards. Pretty nearly in the centre of this hilly range lay a narrow defile, through which passed the nearest and the most practicable route to the river Turgai, the farther bank of which river offered the next great station of security for a general

halt. It was the more essential to gain this pass before the Cossacks, inasmuch as not only would the delay in forcing the pass give time to the Russian pursuing columns for combining their attacks and for bringing up their artillery, but also because (even if all enemies 5 in pursuit were thrown out of the question) it was held by those best acquainted with the difficult and obscure geography of these pathless steppes that the loss of this one narrow strait among the hills would have the effect of throwing them (as their only alternative in a case 10 where so wide a sweep of pasturage was required) upon a circuit of at least five hundred miles extra; besides that, after all, this circuitous route would carry them to the Turgai at a point ill fitted for the passage of their heavy baggage. The defile in the hills, therefore, it was 15 resolved to gain; and yet, unless they moved upon it with the velocity of light cavalry, there was little chance but it would be found preoccupied by the Cossacks. They also, it is true, had suffered greatly in the bloody action with the defeated *ouloss*; but the excitement of 20 victory, and the intense sympathy with their unexampled triumph, had again swelled their ranks, and would probably act with the force of a vortex to draw in their simple countrymen from the Caspian. The question, therefore, of preoccupation was reduced to a race. The Cossacks 25 were marching upon an oblique line not above fifty miles longer than that which led to the same point from the Kalmuck headquarters before Koulagina; and therefore, without the most furious haste on the part of the Kal-

mucks, there was not a chance for them, burdened and “trashed” as they were, to anticipate so agile a light cavalry as the Cossacks in seizing this important pass.

Dreadful were the feelings of the poor women on 5 hearing this exposition of the case; for they easily understood that too capital an interest (the *summa rerum*) was now at stake to allow of any regard to minor interests, or what would be considered such in their present circumstances. The dreadful week already passed—10 their inauguration in misery—was yet fresh in their remembrance. The scars of suffering were impressed not only upon their memories, but upon their very persons and the persons of their children; and they knew that, where no speed had much chance of meeting the 15 cravings of the chieftains, no test would be accepted, short of absolute exhaustion, that as much had been accomplished as could be accomplished. Weseloff, the Russian captive, has recorded the silent wretchedness with which the women and elder boys assisted in drawing the tent ropes. On the 5th of January all had been 20 animation and the joyousness of indefinite expectation; now, on the contrary, a brief but bitter experience had taught them to take an amended calculation of what it was that lay before them.

25 One whole day, and far into the succeeding night, had the renewed flight continued. The sufferings had been greater than before; for the cold had been more intense, and many perished out of the living creatures through every class except only the camels, whose powers of

endurance seemed equally adapted to cold and to heat. The second morning, however, brought an alleviation to the distress. Snow had begun to fall; and, though not deep at present, it was easily foreseen that it soon would be so, and that, as a halt would in that case become 5 unavoidable, no plan could be better than that of staying where they were, especially as the same cause would check the advance of the Cossacks. Here, then, was the last interval of comfort which gleamed upon the unhappy nation during their whole migration. For ten 10 days the snow continued to fall with little intermission. At the end of that time, keen, bright, frosty weather succeeded: the drifting had ceased. In three days the smooth expanse became firm enough to support the treading of the camels, and the flight was recommenced. 15 But during the halt much domestic comfort had been enjoyed, and, for the last time, universal plenty. The cows and oxen had perished in such vast numbers on the previous marches, that an order was now issued to turn what remained to account by slaughtering the whole, and 20 salting whatever part should be found to exceed the immediate consumption. This measure led to a scene of general banqueting, and even of festivity, among all who were not incapacitated for joyous emotions by distress of mind, by grief for the unhappy experience of 25 the few last days, and by anxiety for the too gloomy future. Seventy thousand persons of all ages had already perished, exclusively of the many thousand allies who had been cut down by the Cossack sabre; and the

losses in reversion were likely to be many more. For rumors began now to arrive from all quarters, by the mounted couriers whom the khan had despatched to the rear and to each flank as well as in advance, that large masses of the imperial troops were converging from all parts of Central Asia to the fords of the river Turgai, as the most convenient point for intercepting the flying tribes; and it was by this time well known that a powerful division was close in their rear, and was retarded only by the numerous artillery which had been judged necessary to support their operations. New motives were thus daily arising for quickening the motions of the wretched Kalmucks and for exhausting those who were already but too much exhausted.

It was not until the second day of February that the khan's advanced guard came in sight of Ouchim, the defile among the hills of Moulgaldchares, in which they anticipated so bloody an opposition from the Cossacks. A pretty large body of these light cavalry had, in fact, preoccupied the pass by some hours; but the khan, having two great advantages,—namely, a strong body of infantry, who had been conveyed by sections of five on about two hundred camels, and some pieces of light artillery which he had not yet been forced to abandon, —soon began to make a serious impression upon this unsupported detachment, and they would probably at any rate have retired; but at the very moment when they were making some dispositions in that view Zebek-Dorchi appeared upon their rear with a body of trained

riflemen who had distinguished themselves in the war with Turkey. These men had contrived to crawl unobserved over the cliffs which skirted the ravine, availing themselves of the dry beds of the summer torrents, and other inequalities of the ground, to conceal their 5 movement. Disorder and trepidation ensued instantly in the Cossack files. The khan, who had been waiting with the *elite* of his heavy cavalry, charged furiously upon them. Total overthrow followed to the Cossacks, and a slaughter such as in some measure avenged the 10 recent bloody extermination of their allies, the ancient *ouloss* of Feka-Zechorr. The slight horses of the Cossacks were unable to support the weight of heavy Polish dragoons and a body of trained *cameleers* (that is, cuirassiers mounted on camels). Hardy they were, but 15 not strong, nor a match for their antagonists in weight; and their extraordinary efforts through the last few days to gain their present position had greatly diminished their powers for effecting an escape. Very few, in fact, *did* escape; and the bloody day of Ouchim be- 20 came as memorable among the Cossacks as that which, about twenty days before, had signalized the complete annihilation of the Feka-Zechorr.

The road was now open to the river Igritch, and as yet even far beyond it to the Turgai; but how long this 25 state of things would continue was every day more doubtful. Certain intelligence was now received that a large Russian army, well appointed in every arm, was advancing upon the Turgai under the command of

General Traubenberg. This officer was to be joined on his route by ten thousand Bashkirs and pretty nearly the same amount of Kirghises,— both hereditary enemies of the Kalmucks, both exasperated to a point of 5 madness by the bloody trophies which Oubacha and Momotbacha had in late years won from such of their compatriots as served under the Sultan. The Czarina's yoke these wild nations bore with submissive patience, but not the hands by which it had been imposed ; and 10 accordingly, catching with eagerness at the present occasion offered to their vengeance, they sent an assurance to the Czarina of their perfect obedience to her commands, and at the same time a message significantly declaring in what spirit they meant to execute them, 15 namely, "that they would not trouble her Majesty with prisoners."

✓Here then arose, as before with the Cossacks, a race for the Kalmucks with the regular armies of Russia, and concurrently with nations as fierce and semihumanized as themselves, besides that they were stung into threefold activity by the furies of mortified pride and military abasement under the eyes of the Turkish Sultan. The forces, and more especially the artillery, of Russia were far too overwhelming to permit the 20 25 thought of a regular opposition in pitched battles, even with a less dilapidated state of their resources than they could reasonably expect at the period of their arrival on the Turgai. In their speed lay their only hope,— in strength of foot, as before, and not in strength of

arm. Onward, therefore, the Kalmucks pressed, marking the lines of their wide-extending march over the sad solitudes of the steppes by a never-ending chain of corpses. The old and the young, the sick man on his couch, the mother with her baby,—all were left behind. 5 Sights such as these, with the many rueful aggravations incident to the helpless condition of infancy,—of disease and of female weakness abandoned to the wolves amidst a howling wilderness,—continued to track their course through a space of full two thousand miles; for 10 so much at the least it was likely to prove, including the circuits to which they were often compelled by rivers or hostile tribes, from the point of starting on the Volga until they could reach their destined halting ground on the east bank of the Turgai. For the first 15 seven weeks of this march their sufferings had been embittered by the excessive severity of the cold; and every night — so long as wood was to be had for fires, either from the lading of the camels, or from the desperate sacrifice of their baggage wagons, or (as occasionally 20 happened) from the forests which skirted the banks of the many rivers which crossed their path — no spectacle was more frequent than that of a circle, composed of men, women, and children, gathered by hundreds round a central fire, all dead and stiff at the return of morning 25 light. Myriads were left behind from pure exhaustion, of whom none had a chance, under the combined evils which beset them, of surviving through the next twenty-four hours. Frost, however, and snow at length ceased

to persecute ; the vast extent of the march at length brought them into more genial latitudes ; and the unusual duration of the march was gradually bringing them into the more genial seasons of the year. Two
5 thousand miles had at least been traversed ; February, March, April, were gone ; the balmy month of May had opened ; vernal sights and sounds came from every side to comfort the heart-weary travellers ; and at last, in the latter end of May, crossing the Turgai, they
10 took up a position where they hoped to find liberty to repose themselves for many weeks in comfort as well as in security, and to draw such supplies from the fertile neighborhood as might restore their shattered forces to a condition for executing, with less of wreck and ruin,
15 the large remainder of the journey.

Yes, it was true that two thousand miles of wandering had been completed, but in a period of nearly five months, and with the terrific sacrifice of at least two hundred and fifty thousand souls, to say nothing of
20 herds and flocks past all reckoning. These had all perished, — ox, cow, horse, mule, ass, sheep, or goat : not one survived, — only the camels. These arid and adust creatures, looking like the mummies of some antediluvian animals, without the affections or sensibilities
25 of flesh and blood, — these only still erected their speaking eyes to the eastern heavens, and had to all appearance come out from this long tempest of trial unscathed and unharmed. The khan, knowing how much he was individually answerable for the misery which had been

sustained, must have wept tears even more bitter than those of Xerxes when he threw his eyes over the myriads whom he had assembled; for the tears of Xerxes were unmixed with remorse. Whatever amends were in his power the khan resolved to make by sacrifices 5 to the general good of all personal regards; and accordingly, even at this point of their advance, he once more deliberately brought under review the whole question of the revolt. The question was formally debated before the council, whether, even at this point, they should 10 untread their steps, and, throwing themselves upon the Czarina's mercy, return to their old allegiance. In that case, Oubacha professed himself willing to become the scapegoat for the general transgression. This, he argued, was no fantastic scheme, but even easy of ac- 15 complishment; for the unlimited and sacred power of the khan, so well known to the empress, made it absolutely iniquitous to attribute any separate responsibility to the people. Upon the khan rested the guilt; upon the khan would descend the imperial vengeance. This 20 proposal was applauded for its generosity, but was energetically opposed by Zebek-Dorchi. Were they to lose the whole journey of two thousand miles? Was their misery to perish without fruit? True it was that they had yet reached only the halfway house; but in that re- 25 spect the motives were evenly balanced for retreat or for advance. Either way they would have pretty nearly the same distance to traverse, but with this difference, — that, forwards, their route lay through lands compara-

tively fertile; backwards through a blasted wilderness, rich only in memorial of their sorrow, and hideous to Kalmuck eyes by the trophies of their calamity. Besides, though the empress might accept an excuse for the past, would she the less forbear to suspect for the future? The Czarina's *pardon* they might obtain; but could they ever hope to recover her *confidence*? Doubtless there would now be a standing presumption against them, an immortal ground of jealousy; and a jealous government would be but another name for a harsh one. Finally, whatever motives there ever had been for the revolt surely remained unimpaired by anything that had occurred. In reality the revolt was, after all, no revolt, but, strictly speaking, a return to their old allegiance; since not above one hundred and fifty years ago, namely, in the year 1616, their ancestors had revolted from the Emperor of China. They had now tried both governments; and for them China was the land of promise, and Russia the house of bondage.

Spite, however, of all that Zebek could say or do, the yearning of the people was strongly in behalf of the khan's proposal; the pardon of their prince, they persuaded themselves, would be readily conceded by the empress; and there is little doubt that they would at this time have thrown themselves gladly upon the imperial mercy,—when suddenly all was defeated by the arrival of two envoys from Traubenberg. This general had reached the fortress of Orsk, after a very painful march, on the 12th of April; thence he set forward

towards Oriembourg, which he reached upon the 1st of June, having been joined on his route, at various times through the month of May, by the Kirghises and a corps of ten thousand Bashkirs. From Oriembourg he sent forward his official offers to the khan, which were ~~barsh~~ 5 and peremptory, holding out no specific stipulation as to pardon or immunity, and exacting unconditional submission as the preliminary price of any cessation from military operations. The personal character of Traubenberg, which was anything but energetic, and the condition of his army, disorganized in a great measure by the length and severity of the march, made it probable, that, with a little time for negotiation, a more conciliatory tone would have been assumed. But, unhappily for all parties, sinister events occurred in the meantime, such 15 as effectually put an end to every hope of the kind.

The two envoys sent forward by Traubenberg had reported to this officer that a distance of only ten days' march lay between his own headquarters and those of the khan. Upon this fact transpiring, the Kirghises, 20 by their prince Nourali, and the Bashkirs, entreated the Russian general to advance without delay. Once having placed his cannon in position, so as to command the Kalmuck camp, the fate of the rebel khan and his people would be in his own hands, and they would themselves form his advanced guard. Traubenberg, however, — *why* has not been certainly explained, — refused to march, grounding his refusal upon the condition of his army and their absolute need of refreshment. Long and

fierce was the altercation ; but at length, seeing no chance of prevailing, and dreading above all other events the escape of their detested enemy, the ferocious Bashkirs went off in a body by forced marches. In six days they 5 reached the Turgai, crossed by swimming their horses, and fell upon the Kalmucks, who were dispersed for many a league in search of food or provender for their camels. The first day's action was one vast succession of independent skirmishes diffused over a field of thirty to forty 10 miles in extent; one party often breaking up into three or four, and again, according to the accidents of ground, three or four blending into one ; flight and pursuit, rescue and total overthrow, going on simultaneously, under all varieties of form, in all quarters of the plain. The Bashkirs had found themselves obliged, by the scattered state 15 of the Kalmucks, to split up into innumerable sections ; and thus, for some hours, it had been impossible for the most practised eye to collect the general tendency of the day's fortune. Both the khan and Zebek-Dorchi were 20 at one moment made prisoners, and more than once in imminent danger of being cut down ; but at length Zebek succeeded in rallying a strong column of infantry, which, with the support of the camel corps on each flank, compelled the Bashkirs to retreat. Clouds, however, of 25 these wild cavalry continued to arrive through the next two days and nights, followed or accompanied by the Kirghises. These being viewed as the advanced parties of Traubenberg's army, the Kalmuck chieftains saw no hope of safety but in flight ; and in this way it happened

that a retreat which had so recently been brought to a pause, was resumed at the very moment when the unhappy fugitives were anticipating a deep repose, without further molestation, the whole summer through.

It seemed as though every variety of wretchedness 5 were predestined to the Kalmucks, and as if their sufferings were incomplete unless they were rounded and matured by all that the most dreadful agencies of summer's heat could superadd to those of frost and winter. To this sequel of their story I shall immediately revert, 10 after first noticing a little romantic episode which occurred at this point between Oubacha and his unprincipled cousin Zebek-Dorchi.

There was, at the time of the Kalmuck flight from the Volga, a Russian gentleman of some rank at the court of 15 the khan, whom for political reasons it was thought necessary to carry along with them as a captive. For some weeks his confinement had been very strict, and in one or two instances cruel. But as the increasing distance was continually diminishing the chances of escape, and 20 perhaps, also, as the misery of the guards gradually withdrew their attention from all minor interests to their own personal sufferings, the vigilance of the custody grew more and more relaxed, until at length, upon a petition to the khan, Mr. Weseloff was formally restored 25 to liberty; and it was understood that he might use his liberty in whatever way he chose, even for returning to Russia, if that should be his wish. Accordingly, he was making active preparations for his journey to St. Peters-

burg, when it occurred to Zebek-Dorchi that not improbably, in some of the battles which were then anticipated with Traubenberg, it might happen to them to lose some prisoner of rank, in which case the Russian Weseloff 5 would be a pledge in their hands for negotiating an exchange. Upon this plea, to his own severe affliction, the Russian was detained until the further pleasure of the khan. The khan's name, indeed, was used through the whole affair, but, as it seemed, with so little concurrence on his part, that when Weseloff in a private audience humbly remonstrated upon the injustice done him, and the cruelty of thus sporting with his feelings by setting him at liberty, and, as it were, tempting him into dreams of home and restored happiness, only for the 15 purpose of blighting them, the good-natured prince disclaimed all participation in the affair, and went so far in proving his sincerity as even to give him permission to effect his escape; and, as a ready means of commencing it without raising suspicion, the khan mentioned 20 to Mr. Weseloff that he had just then received a message from the hetman of the Bashkirs, soliciting a private interview on the banks of the Turgai at a spot pointed out. That interview was arranged for the coming night; and Mr. Weseloff might go in the khan's 25 suite, which on either side was not to exceed three persons. Weseloff was a prudent man, acquainted with the world, and he read treachery in the very outline of this scheme as stated by the khan, — treachery against the khan's person. He mused a little, and then communi-

cated so much of his suspicions to the khan as might put him on his guard ; but, upon further consideration, he begged leave to decline the honor of accompanying the khan. The fact was, that three Kalmucks, who had strong motives for returning to their countrymen on the 5 west bank of the Volga, guessing the intentions of Weseloff, had offered to join him in his escape. These men the khan would probably find himself obliged to countenance in their project ; so that it became a point of honor with Weseloff to conceal their intentions, and 10 therefore to accomplish the evasion from the camp (of which the first step only would be hazardous) without risking the notice of the khan.

The district in which they were now encamped abounded through many hundred miles with wild horses 15 of a docile and beautiful breed. Each of the four fugitives had caught from seven to ten of these spirited creatures in the course of the last few days. This raised no suspicion ; for the rest of the Kalmucks had been making the same sort of provision against the 20 coming toils of their remaining route to China. These horses were secured by halters, and hidden about dusk in the thickets which lined the margin of the river. To these thickets, about ten at night, the four fugitives repaired. They took a circuitous path which drew them 25 as little as possible within danger of challenge from any of the outposts or of the patrols which had been established on the quarters where the Bashkirs lay, and in three quarters of an hour they reached the rendez-

vous. The moon had now risen, the horses were unfastened, and they were in the act of mounting, when the deep silence of the woods was disturbed by a violent uproar and the clashing of arms. Weseloff fancied that he heard the voice of the khan shouting for assistance. He remembered the communication made by that prince in the morning, and, requesting his companions to support him, he rode off in the direction of the sound. A very short distance brought him to an open glade in the wood, where he beheld four men contending with a party of at least nine or ten. Two of the four were dismounted at the very instant of Weseloff's arrival. One of these he recognized almost certainly as the khan, who was fighting hand to hand, but at great disadvantage, with two of the adverse horsemen. Seeing that no time was to be lost, Weseloff fired, and brought down one of the two. His companions discharged their carbines at the same moment, and then all rushed simultaneously into the little open area. The thundering sound of about thirty horses, all rushing at once into a narrow space, gave the impression that a whole troop of cavalry was coming down upon the assailants, who accordingly wheeled about and fled with one impulse. Weseloff advanced to the dismounted cavalier, who, as he expected, proved to be the khan. The man whom Weseloff had shot was lying dead; and both were shocked, though Weseloff at least was not surprised, on stooping down, and scrutinizing his features, to recognize a well-known confidential servant of Zebek-Dorchi.

Nothing was said by either party. The khan rode off, escorted by Weseloff and his companions; and for some time a dead silence prevailed. The situation of Weseloff was delicate and critical. To leave the khan at this point was probably to cancel their recent services; for 5 he might be again crossed on his path, and again attacked by the very party from whom he had just been delivered. Yet, on the other hand, to return to the camp was to endanger the chances of accomplishing the escape. The khan, also, was apparently revolving 10 all this in his mind; for at length he broke silence, and said, "I comprehend your situation, and under other circumstances I might feel it my duty to detain your companions; but it would ill become me to do so after the important service you have just rendered me. Let 15 us turn a little to the left. There, where you see the watchfire, is an outpost. Attend me so far. I am then safe. You may turn, and pursue your enterprise; for the circumstances under which you will appear, as my escort, are sufficient to shield you from all suspicion for 20 the present. I regret having no better means at my disposal for testifying my gratitude. But tell me, before we part,—Was it accident only which led you to my rescue? Or had you acquired any knowledge of the plot by which I was decoyed into this snare?" 25 Weseloff answered very candidly that mere accident had brought him to the spot at which he heard the uproar; but that *having* heard it, and connecting it with the khan's communication of the morning, he had then

designedly gone after the sound in a way which he certainly should not have done at so critical a moment, unless in the expectation of finding the khan assaulted by assassins. A few minutes after, they reached the 5 outpost at which it became safe to leave the Tartar chieftain; and immediately the four fugitives commenced a flight which is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of travelling. Each of them led six or seven horses besides the one he rode; and by shifting 10 from one to the other, like the ancient *desultors* of the Roman circus, so as never to burden the same horse for more than half an hour at a time, they continued to advance at the rate of two hundred miles in the twenty-four hours for three days consecutively. After that 15 time, conceiving themselves beyond pursuit, they proceeded less rapidly, though still with a velocity which staggered the belief of Weseloff's friends in after years. He was, however, a man of high principle, and always adhered firmly to the details of his printed report. 20 One of the circumstances there stated is, that they continued to pursue the route by which the Kalmucks had fled, never for an instant finding any difficulty in tracing it by the skeletons and other memorials of their calamities. In particular, he mentions vast heaps of 25 money as part of the valuable property which it had been necessary to sacrifice. These heaps were found lying still untouched in the deserts. From these, Weseloff and his companions took as much as they could conveniently carry; and this it was, with the

price of their beautiful horses (which they afterwards sold at one of the Russian military settlements for about fifteen pounds apiece), which eventually enabled them to pursue their journey in Russia. This journey, as regarded Weseloff in particular, was closed by a 5 tragical catastrophe. He was at that time young, and the only child of a doting mother. Her affliction under the violent abduction of her son had been excessive, and probably had undermined her constitution. Still she had supported it. Weseloff, giving way to the natural 10 impulses of his filial affection, had imprudently posted through Russia to his mother's house without warning of his approach. He rushed precipitately into her presence; and she, who had stood the shocks of sorrow, was found unequal to the shock of joy too sudden and 15 too acute. She died upon the spot.

I now revert to the final scenes of the Kalmuck flight. These it would be useless to pursue circumstantially through the whole two thousand miles of suffering which remained; for the character of that suffering was 20 even more monotonous than on the former half of the flight, and also more severe. Its main elements were excessive heat, with the accompaniments of famine and thirst, but aggravated at every step by the murderous attacks of their cruel enemies, the Bashkirs and the 25 Kirghises.

These people, "more fell than anguish, hunger, or the sea," stuck to the unhappy Kalmucks like a swarm of enraged hornets. And very often, whilst *they* were

attacking them in the rear, their advanced parties and flanks were attacked with almost equal fury by the people of the country which they were traversing; and with good reason, since the law of self-preservation had now 5 obliged the fugitive Tartars to plunder provisions and to forage wherever they passed. In this respect their condition was a constant oscillation of wretchedness; for sometimes, pressed by grinding famine, they took a circuit of perhaps a hundred miles in order to strike into 10 a land rich in the comforts of life. But in such a land they were sure to find a crowded population, of which every arm was raised in unrelenting hostility, with all the advantages of local knowledge, and with constant preoccupation of all the defensible positions, mountain 15 passes, or bridges. Sometimes, again, wearied out with this mode of suffering, they took a circuit of perhaps a hundred miles in order to strike into a land with few or no inhabitants; but in such a land they were sure to meet absolute starvation. Then, again, whether with 20 or without this plague of starvation, whether with or without this plague of hostility in front, whatever might be the “fierce varieties” of their misery in this respect, no rest ever came to their unhappy rear; *post equitem sedet atra cura*; it was a torment like the undying worm 25 of conscience, and upon the whole it presented a spectacle altogether unprecedented in the history of mankind. Private and personal malignity is not unfrequently immortal; but rare indeed is it to find the same pertinacity of malice in a nation. And what imbittered the interest

was, that the malice was reciprocal. Thus far the parties met upon equal terms; but that equality only sharpened the sense of their dire inequality as to other circumstances. The Bashkirs were ready to fight "from morn to dewy eve." The Kalmucks, on the contrary, were 5 always obliged to run. Was it *from* their enemies as creatures whom they feared? No, but *towards* their friends, — towards that final haven of China, — as what was hourly implored by the prayers of their wives and the tears of their children. But, though they fled un- 10 willingly, too often they fled in vain, being unwillingly recalled. There lay the torment. Every day the Bashkirs fell upon them; every day the same unprofitable battle was renewed. As a matter of course, the Kalmucks recalled part of their advanced guard to fight 15 them. Every day the battle raged for hours, and uniformly with the same result; for, no sooner did the Bashkirs find themselves too heavily pressed, and that the Kalmuck march had been retarded by some hours, than they retired into the boundless deserts, where all 20 pursuit was hopeless. But if the Kalmucks resolved to press forward, regardless of their enemies, in that case their attacks became so fierce and overwhelming that the general safety seemed likely to be brought into question; nor could any effectual remedy be applied to the 25 case, even for each separate day, except by a most embarrassing halt and by countermarches that to men in their circumstances were almost worse than death. It will not be surprising that the irritation of such a

systematic persecution, superadded to a previous and hereditary hatred, and accompanied by the stinging consciousness of utter impotence as regarded all effectual vengeance, should gradually have inflamed the Kalmuck 5 animosity into the wildest expression of downright madness and frenzy. Indeed, long before the frontiers of China were approached, the hostility of both sides had assumed the appearance much more of a warfare among wild beasts than among creatures acknowledging the 10 restraints of reason or the claims of a common nature. The spectacle became too atrocious: it was that of a host of lunatics pursued by a host of fiends.

On a fine morning in early autumn of the year 1771, Kien Long, the Emperor of China, was pursuing his 15 amusements in a wild frontier district lying on the outside of the Great Wall. For many hundred square leagues the country was desolate of inhabitants, but rich in woods of ancient growth, and overrun with game of every description. In a central spot of this solitary 20 region the emperor had built a gorgeous hunting lodge, to which he resorted annually for recreation, and relief from the cares of government. Led onwards in pursuit of game, he had rambled to a distance of two hundred miles or more from this lodge, followed at a little dis- 25 tance by a sufficient military escort, and every night pitching his tent in a different situation, until at length he had arrived on the very margin of the vast central deserts of Asia. Here he was standing, by accident, at

an opening of his pavilion, enjoying the morning sun-shine, when suddenly to the westward there arose a vast, cloudy vapor, which by degrees expanded, mounted, and seemed to be slowly diffusing itself over the whole face of the heavens. By and by this vast sheet of mist began 5 to thicken towards the horizon, and to roll forward in billowy volumes. The emperor's suite assembled from all quarters; the silver trumpets were sounded in the rear; and from all the glades and forest avenues began to trot forward towards the pavilion the yagers—half 10 cavalry, half huntsmen—who composed the imperial escort. Conjecture was on the stretch to divine the cause of this phenomenon; and the interest continually increased in proportion as simple curiosity gradually deepened into the anxiety of uncertain danger. At first 15 it had been imagined that some vast troops of deer or other wild animals of the chase had been disturbed in their forest haunts by the emperor's movements, or possibly by wild beasts prowling for prey, and might be fetching a compass by way of re-entering the forest 20 grounds at some remoter points secure from molestation. But this conjecture was dissipated by the slow increase of the cloud and the steadiness of its motion. In the course of two hours the vast phenomenon had advanced to a point which was judged to be within five miles 25 of the spectators; though all calculations of distance were difficult, and often fallacious, when applied to the endless expanses of the Tartar deserts. Through the next hour, during which the gentle morning breeze had

■ a little freshened, the dusty vapor had developed itself far and wide into the appearance of huge aërial draperies, hanging in mighty volumes from the sky to the earth ; and at particular points, where the eddies of the breeze 5 acted upon the pendulous skirts of these aërial curtains, rents were perceived, sometimes taking the form of regular arches, portals, and windows, through which began dimly to gleam the heads of camels " indorsed " with human beings, and at intervals the moving of men 10 and horses in tumultuous array, and then through other openings, or vistas, at far-distant points, the flashing of polished arms. But sometimes, as the wind slackened or died away, all those openings, of whatever form, in the cloudy pall, would slowly close, and for a time the 15 whole pageant was shut up from view ; although the growing din, the clamors, the shrieks and groans ascending from infuriated myriads, reported, in a language not to be misunderstood, what was going on behind the cloudy screen.

20 It was, in fact, the Kalmuck host, now in the last extremities of their exhaustion, and very fast approaching to that final stage of privation and intense misery beyond which few or none could have lived, but also, happily for themselves, fast approaching (in a literal 25 sense) that final stage of their long pilgrimage at which they would meet hospitality on a scale of royal magnificence, and full protection from their enemies. These enemies, however, as yet, still were hanging on their rear as fiercely as ever, though this day was destined to

be the last of their hideous persecution. The khan had, ⁵ in fact, sent forward couriers with all the requisite statements and petitions, addressed to the emperor of China. These had been duly received, and preparations made in consequence to welcome the Kalmucks with the most ⁵ paternal benevolence. But as these couriers had been despatched from the Turgai at the moment of arrival thither, and before the advance of Traubenberg had made it necessary for the khan to order a hasty renewal of the flight, the emperor had not looked for their arrival ¹⁰ on their frontier until full three months after the present time. The khan had, indeed, expressly notified his intention to pass the summer heats on the banks of the Turgai, and to recommence his retreat about the beginning of September. The subsequent change of plan, ¹⁵ being unknown to Kien Long, left him for some time in doubt as to the true interpretation to be put upon this mighty apparition in the desert; but at length the savage clamors of hostile fury and the clangor of weapons unveiled to the emperor the true nature of those unex- ²⁰ pected calamities which had so prematurely precipitated the Kalmuck measures.

Apprehending the real state of affairs, the emperor instantly perceived that the first act of his fatherly care for these erring children (as he esteemed them), now re- ²⁵ turning to their ancient obedience, must be to deliver them from their pursuers. And this was less difficult than might have been supposed. Not many miles in the rear was a body of well-appointed cavalry, with a

strong detachment of artillery, who always attended the emperor's motions. These were hastily summoned. Meantime it occurred to the train of courtiers that some danger might arise to the emperor's person from the 5 proximity of a lawless enemy ; and accordingly he was induced to retire a little to the rear. It soon appeared, however, to those who watched the vapory shroud in the desert, that its motion was not such as would argue the direction of the march to be exactly upon the pavilion, but rather in a diagonal line, making an angle of full forty-five degrees with that line in which the imperial *cortège* had been standing, and therefore with a distance continually increasing. Those who knew the country judged that the Kalmucks were making for a 15 large fresh-water lake about seven or eight miles distant. They were right ; and to that point the imperial cavalry was ordered up ; and it was precisely in that spot, and about three hours after, and at noonday, on the 8th of September, that the great exodus of the Kalmuck Tartars was brought to a final close, and with a scene of such memorable and hellish fury as formed an appropriate winding up to an expedition in all its parts and details so awfully disastrous. The emperor was not personally present, or at least he saw whatever he *did* see 20 from too great a distance to discriminate its individual features ; but he records in his written memorial the report made to him of this scene by some of his own officers.

The Lake of Tengis, near the frightful Desert of Kobi,

lay in a hollow amongst hills of a moderate height, ranging generally from two to three thousand feet high. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the Chinese cavalry reached the summit of a road which led through a cradle-like dip in the mountains right down upon the 5 margin of the lake. From this pass, elevated about two thousand feet above the level of the water, they continued to descend, by a very winding and difficult road, for an hour and a half; and during the whole of this descent they were compelled to be inactive spectators of 10 the fiendish spectacle below. The Kalmucks, reduced by this time from about six hundred thousand souls to two hundred thousand, and after enduring for two months and a half the miseries I have previously described, — outrageous heat, famine, and the destroying 15 scimitar of the Kirghises and the Bashkirs, — had for the last ten days been traversing a hideous desert, where no vestiges were seen of vegetation, and no drop of water could be found. Camels and men were already so overladen that it was a mere impossibility that they should 20 carry a tolerable sufficiency for the passage of this frightful wilderness. On the eighth day the wretched daily allowance, which had been continually diminishing, failed entirely; and thus, for two days of insupportable fatigue, the horrors of thirst had been carried to the fiercest 25 extremity. Upon this last morning, at the sight of the hills and the forest scenery, which announced to those who acted as guides the neighborhood of the Lake of Tengis, all the people rushed along with maddening

eagerness to the anticipated solace. The day grew hotter and hotter, the people more and more exhausted ; and gradually, in the general rush forwards to the lake, all discipline and command were lost, all attempts to preserve a rear-guard were neglected. The wild Bashkirs rode in amongst the encumbered people, and slaughtered them by wholesale and almost without resistance. Screams and tumultuous shouts proclaimed the progress of the massacre ; but none heeded, none halted : all alike, 10 pauper or noble, continued to rush on with maniacal haste to the waters, — all with faces blackened by the heat preying upon the liver, and with tongue drooping from the mouth. The cruel Bashkir was affected by the same misery, and manifested the same symptoms of his 15 misery, as the wretched Kalmuck. The murderer was oftentimes in the same frantic misery as his murdered victim. Many, indeed (an ordinary effect of thirst), in both nations, had become lunatic ; and in this state, while mere multitude and condensation of bodies alone 20 opposed any check to the destroying scimitar and the trampling hoof, the lake was reached ; and into that the whole vast body of enemies rushed, and together continued to rush, forgetful of all things at that moment but of one almighty instinct. This absorption of the 25 thoughts in one maddening appetite lasted for a single minute ; but in the next arose the final scene of parting vengeance. Far and wide the waters of the solitary lake were instantly dyed red with blood and gore. Here rode a party of savage Bashkirs, hewing off heads as fast

as the swaths fall before the mower's scythe ; there stood unarmed Kalmucks in a death grapple with their detested foes, both up to the middle in water, and often-times both sinking together below the surface, from weakness or from struggles, and perishing in each other's 5 arms. Did the Bashkirs at any point collect into a cluster for the sake of giving impetus to the assault, thither were the camels driven in fiercely by those who rode them, generally women or boys ; and even these quiet creatures were forced into a share in this carnival of 10 murder by trampling down as many as they could strike prostrate with the lash of their fore-legs. Every moment the water grew more polluted ; and yet every instant fresh myriads came up to the lake, and rushed in, not able to resist their frantic thirst, and swallowing 15 large draughts of water visibly contaminated with the blood of their slaughtered compatriots. Wheresoever the lake was shallow enough to allow of men raising their heads above the water, there, for scores of acres, were to be seen all forms of ghastly fear, of agonizing 20 struggle, of spasm, of convulsion, of mortal conflict,— death, and the fear of death ; revenge, and the lunacy of revenge ; hatred, and the frenzy of hatred ; until the neutral spectators, of whom there were not a few, now descending the eastern side of the lake, at length averted 25 their eyes in horror. This horror, which seemed incapable of further addition, was, however, increased by an unexpected incident. The Bashkirs, beginning to perceive here and there the approach of the Chinese cavalry,

felt it prudent, wheresoever they were sufficiently at leisure from the passions of the murderous scene, to gather into bodies. This was noticed by the governor of a small Chinese fort built upon an eminence above 5 the lake ; and immediately he threw in a broadside, which spread havoc amongst the Bashkir tribe. As often as the Bashkirs collected into “*globes*” and “*turms*” as their only means of meeting the long line of descending Chinese cavalry, so often did the Chinese governor of 10 the fort pour in his exterminating broadside ; until at length the lake, at the lower end, became one vast seething caldron of human bloodshed and carnage. The Chinese cavalry had reached the foot of the hills ; the Bashkirs, attentive to *their* movements, had formed ; 15 skirmishes had been fought ; and with a quick sense that the contest was henceforward rapidly becoming hopeless, the Bashkirs and Kirghises began to retire. The pursuit was not as vigorous as the Kalmuck hatred would have desired ; but at the same time the very 20 gloomiest hatred could not but find in their own dreadful experience of the Asiatic deserts, and in the certainty that these wretched Bashkirs had to repeat that same experience a second time, for thousands of miles, as the price exacted by a retributory Providence for 25 their vindictive cruelty, — not the very gloomiest of the Kalmucks, or the least reflecting, but found in all this a retaliatory chastisement more complete and absolute than any which their swords and lances could have obtained, or human vengeance could have devised.

Here ends the tale of the Kalmuck wanderings in the desert; for any subsequent marches which awaited them were neither long nor painful. Every possible alleviation and refreshment for their exhausted bodies had been already provided by Kien Long with the most 5 princely munificence; and lands of great fertility were immediately assigned to them in ample extent along the river Ily, not very far from the point at which they had first emerged from the wilderness of Kobi. But the beneficent attention of the Chinese emperor may be best 10 stated in his own words, as translated into French by one of the Jesuit missionaries: "La nation des Torgotes (*savoir les Kalmuques*) arriva à Ily, toute *delabréée*, n'ayant ni de quoi vivre, ni de quoi se vêtir. Je l'avais prévu; et j'avais ordonné de faire en tout genre les pro- 15 visions nécessaires pour pouvoir les secourir promptement; c'est ce qui a été exécuté. On a fait la division des terres; et on a assigné à chaque famille une portion suffisante pour pouvoir servir à son entretien, soit en la cultivant, soit en y nourrissant des bestiaux. On a donné 20 à chaque particulier des étoffes pour l'habiller, des grains pour se nourrir pendant l'espace d'une année, des ustensiles pour le ménage et d'autres choses nécessaires: et outre cela plusieurs onces d'argent, pour se pourvoir de ce qu'on aurait pu oublier. On a designé des lieux parti- 25 culiers, fertiles en pâturages; et on leur a donné des bœufs, moutons, etc., pour qu'ils pussent dans la suite travailler par eux-mêmes à leur entretien et à leur bienêtre."

These are the words of the emperor himself, speaking

in his own person of his own paternal cares ; but another Chinese, treating the same subject, records the munificence of this prince in terms which proclaim still more forcibly the disinterested generosity which prompted, 5 and the delicate considerateness which conducted, this extensive bounty. He has been speaking of the Kalmucks, and he goes on thus : "Lorsqu'ils arrivèrent sur nos frontières (au nombre de plusieurs centaines de mille, quoique la fatigue extrême, la faim, la soif, et toutes les 10 autres incommodités inséparables d'une très-longue et très pénible route en eussent fait périr presque autant), ils étaient réduits à la dernière misère ; ils manquaient de tout. Il [l'empereur, Kien Long] leur fit préparer des logemens conformes à leur manière de vivre ; il leur 15 fit distribuer des aliments et des habits ; il leur fit donner des bœufs, des moutons, et des ustensiles, pour les mettre en état de former des troupeaux et de cultiver la terre, et tout cela à ses propres frais, qui se sont montés à des sommes immenses, sans compter l'argent qu'il a donné à 20 chaque chef-de-famille, pour pourvoir à la subsistance de sa femme et de ses enfans."

Thus, after their memorable year of misery, the Kalmucks were replaced in territorial possessions, and in comfort equal perhaps, or even superior, to that which 25 they had enjoyed in Russia, and with superior political advantages. But, if equal or superior, their condition was no longer the same : if not in degree, their social prosperity had altered in quality ; for, instead of being a purely pastoral and vagrant people, they were now in

circumstances which obliged them to become essentially dependent upon agriculture, and thus far raised in social rank, that, by the natural course of their habits and the necessities of life, they were effectually reclaimed from roving and from the savage customs connected with a 5 half-nomadic life. They gained also in political privileges, chiefly through the immunity from military service which their new relations enabled them to obtain. These were circumstances of advantage and gain. But one great disadvantage there was, amply to overbalance 10 all other possible gain, — the chances were lost, or were removed to an incalculable distance, for their conversion to Christianity, without which in these times there is no absolute advance possible on the path of true civilization.

One word remains to be said upon the *personal* 15 interests concerned in this great drama. The catastrophe in this respect was remarkable and complete. Oubacha, with all his goodness, and incapacity of suspecting, had, since the mysterious affair on the banks of the Turgai, felt his mind alienated from his cousin. He 20 revolted from the man that would have murdered him; and he had displayed his caution so visibly as to provoke a reaction in the bearing of Zebek-Dorchi, and a displeasure which all his dissimulation could not hide. This had produced a feud, which, by keeping them 25 aloof, had probably saved the life of Oubacha; for the friendship of Zebek-Dorchi was more fatal than his open enmity. After the settlement on the Ily, this feud continued to advance, until it came under the notice of the

emperor on occasion of a visit which all the Tartar chieftains made to his Majesty at his hunting lodge in 1772. The emperor informed himself accurately of all the particulars connected with the transaction, of all the 5 rights and claims put forward, and of the way in which they would severally affect the interests of the Kalmuck people. The consequence was, that he adopted the cause of Oubacha, and repressed the pretensions of Zebek-Dorchi, who, on his part, so deeply resented this 10 discountenance to his ambitious projects, that, in conjunction with other chiefs, he had the presumption even to weave nets of treason against the emperor himself. Plots were laid, were detected, were baffled : counter-plots were constructed upon the same basis and with the 15 benefit of the opportunities thus offered.

Finally Zebek-Dorchi was invited to the imperial lodge, together with all his accomplices ; and, under the skilful management of the Chinese nobles in the emperor's establishment, the murderous artifices of these Tartar chieftains were made to recoil upon themselves ; and the whole of them perished by assassination at a great imperial banquet ; for the Chinese morality is exactly of that kind which approves in everything the *lex talionis* : —

25 “ Lex nec justior ulla est [as *they* think]
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.”

So perished Zebek-Dorchi, the author and originator of the great Tartar exodus. Oubacha, meantime, and

his people were gradually recovering from the effects of their misery, and repairing their losses. Peace and prosperity, under the gentle rule of a fatherly lord paramount, redawned upon the tribes ; their household *lares*, after so harsh a translation to distant climates, found 5 again a happy reinstatement in what had, in fact, been their primitive abodes ; they found themselves settled in quiet sylvan scenes, rich in all the luxuries of life, and endowed with the perfect loveliness of Arcadian beauty. But from the hills of this favored land, and even from 10 the level grounds, as they approach its western border, they still look out upon that fearful wilderness which once beheld a nation in agony, — the utter extirpation of nearly half a million from among its numbers, and for the remainder a storm of misery so fierce that in the 15 end (as happened also at Athens, during the Peloponnesian War, from a different form of misery) very many lost their memory ; all records of their past life were wiped out as with a sponge, utterly erased and cancelled ; and many others lost their reason, some in a gentle form 20 of pensive melancholy, some in a more restless form of feverish delirium and nervous agitation, and others in the fixed forms of tempestuous mania, raving frenzy, or moping idiocy. Two great commemorative monuments arose in after years to mark the depth and permanence 25 of the awe, the sacred and reverential grief, with which all persons looked back upon the dread calamities attached to the year of the *tiger*, — all who had either personally shared in those calamities and had themselves

drunk from that cup of sorrow, or who had effectually been made witnesses to their results, and associated with their relief: two great monuments, we say: first of all, one in the religious solemnity, enjoined by the dalai 5 lama, called in the Tartar language a *Romanang*; that is, a national commemoration, with music the most rich and solemn, of all the souls who departed to the rest of paradise from the afflictions of the desert. This took place about six years after the arrival in China. Secondly, another, more durable, and more commensurate 10 to the scale of the calamity and to the grandeur of this national exodus, in the mighty columns of granite and brass erected by the Emperor, Kien Long, near the banks of the Ily. These columns stand upon the very 15 margin of the steppes, and they bear a short but emphatic inscription to the following effect:—

By the will of God,
Here, upon the brink of these deserts,
Which from this point begin and stretch away,
20 Pathless, treeless, waterless,
For thousands of miles, and along the margins of many mighty nations,
Rested from their labors and from great afflictions,
Under the shadow of the Chinese Wall,
And by the favor of KIEN LONG, God's Lieutenant upon Earth,
25 The ancient Children of the Wilderness, — the Torgote Tartars, —
Flying before the wrath of the Grecian czar;
Wandering sheep who had strayed away from the Celestial Empire in
the year 1616,
30 But are now mercifully gathered again, after infinite sorrow,
Into the fold of their forgiving shepherd.
Hallowed be the spot forever,
And hallowed be the day — September 8, 1771!
Amen.

APPENDED EDITORIAL NOTE.

THE CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF THE MIGRATION.

As has been mentioned, these appeared, in translated form, in 1776, in Vol. I. of the great collection of *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, published at Paris by the enterprise of the French Jesuit missionaries at Pekin. The most important of them, under the title *Monument de la Transmigration des Tourgouths des Bords de la Mer Caspienne dans l'Empire de la Chine*, occupies twenty seven pages of the volume, and purports to be a translation of a Chinese document drawn up by the Emperor Kien Long himself. This Emperor, described by the missionaries as "the best-lettered man in his Empire," had special reasons for so commemorating as one of the most interesting events of his reign the sudden self-transference in 1771 of so large a Tartar horde from the Russian allegiance to his own. Much of the previous part of his reign had been spent in that work of conquering and consolidating the Tartar appendages of his Empire which had been begun by his celebrated grandfather the Emperor Kang-hi, (1661-1721); and it so chanced that the particular Tartar horde which now, in 1771, had marched all the way from the shores of the Caspian to appeal to him for protection and for annexation to the Chinese Empire were but the posterity of a horde who had formerly belonged to that Empire, but had detached themselves from it in the reign of Kang-hi, by a contrary march westward to annex themselves to the Russian dominions. The event of 1771, therefore, was gratifying to Kien Long as completing his independent exertions among the Tartars on the fringes of China by the voluntary re-settle-

ment within those fringes, and return to the Chinese allegiance, of a whole Tartar population which had been astray, and under distant and alien rule, for several generations. With this explanation, the following sentences from Kien Long's Memoir, containing all its historical substance, will be fully intelligible : —

“ All those who at present compose the nation of the Torgouths, unaffrighted by the dangers of a long and painful march, and full of the single desire of procuring themselves for the future a better mode of life, and a more happy lot, have abandoned the parts which they inhabited far beyond our frontiers, have traversed with a courage proof against all difficulties a space of more than ten thousand *lys*, and are come to range themselves in the number of my subjects. Their submission, in my view of it, is not a submission to which they have been inspired by fear, but is a voluntary and free submission, if ever there was one. . . . The Torgouths are one of the branches of the Eleuths. Four different branches of people formed at one time the whole nation of the Tchong-kar. It would be difficult to explain their common origin, respecting which indeed there is no very certain knowledge. These four branches separated from each other, so that each became a nation apart. That of the Eleuths, the chief of them all, gradually subdued the others, and continued till the time of Kang-hi to exercise this usurped pre-eminence over them. Tsé-ouang-raptan then reigned over the Eleuths, and Ayouki over the Torgouths. These two chiefs, being on bad terms with each other, had their mutual contests ; of which Ayouki, who was the weaker, feared that in the end he would be the unhappy victim. He formed the project of withdrawing himself forever from the domination of the Eleuths. He took secret measures for securing the flight which he meditated, and sought safety, with all his people, in the territories which are under the dominion of the Russians. These permitted them to establish themselves in the country of Etchil [the country between the Volga and the Jaik, a little to the north of the Caspian Sea]. . . . Oubaché, the present Khan of the Torgouths, is the youngest grandson of Ayouki.

The Russians never ceasing to require him to furnish soldiers for incorporation into their armies, and having at last carried off his own son to serve them as a hostage, and being besides of a religion different from his, and paying no respect to that of the Lamas, which the Torgouths profess, Oubaché and his people at last determined to shake off a yoke which was becoming daily more and more insupportable. After having secretly deliberated among themselves, they concluded that they must abandon a residence where they had so much to suffer, in order to come and live more at ease in those parts of the dominion of China where the religion professed is that of Fo. At the commencement of the eleventh month of last year [December, 1770] they took the road, with their wives, their children, and all their baggage, traversed the country of the Hasaks [Cossacks], skirted Lake Palkachénor and the adjacent deserts ; and, about the end of the sixth month of this year [in August, 1771], after having passed over more than ten thousand *lys* during the space of the eight whole months of their journey, they arrived at last on the frontiers of Charapen, not far from the borders of Ily. I knew already that the Torgouths were on the march to come and make submission to me. The news was brought me not long after their departure from Etchil. I then reflected that, as Ileton, general of the troops that are at Ily, was already charged with other very important affairs, it was to be feared that he would not be able to regulate with all the requisite attention those which concerned these new refugees. Chouhédé, one of the councillors of the general, was at Ouché, charged with keeping order among the Mahometans there. As he found it within his power to give his attention to the Torgouths, I ordered him to repair to Ily and do his best for their solid settlement. . . . At the same time, I did not neglect any of the precautions that seemed to me necessary. I ordered Chouhédé to raise small forts and redoubts at the most important points, and to cause all the passes to be carefully guarded; and I enjoined on him the duty of himself getting ready the necessary provisions of every kind inside those defences. . . . The Tor-

gouths arrived, and on arriving found lodgings ready, means of sustenance, and all the conveniences they could have found in their own proper dwellings. This is not all. Those principal men among them who had to come personally to do me homage had their expenses paid, and were honorably conducted, by the imperial post-road, to the place where I then was. I saw them. I spoke to them ; I invited them to partake with me in the pleasures of the chase; and, at the end of the number of days appointed for this exercise, they attended me in my retinue as far as to Gé-hol. There I gave them a ceremonial banquet and made them the customary presents. . . . It was at this Gé-hol, in those charming parts where Kang-hi, my grandfather, made himself an abode to which he could retire during the hot season, at the same time that he thus put himself in a situation to be able to watch with greater care over the welfare of the peoples that are beyond the western frontiers of the Empire; it was, I say, in those lovely parts that, after having conquered the whole country of the Eleuths, I had received the sincere homages of Tchering and his Tourbeths, who alone among the Eleuths had remained faithful to me. One has not to go many years back to touch the epoch of that transaction. The remembrance of it is yet recent. And now — who could have predicted it ? — when there was the least possible room for expecting such a thing, and when I had no thought of it, that one of the branches of the Eleuths which first separated itself from the trunk, those Torgouths who had voluntarily expatriated themselves to go and live under a foreign and distant dominion, these same Torgouths are come of themselves to submit to me of their own good-will ; and it happens that it is still at Gé-hol, not far from the venerable spot where my grandfather's ashes repose, that I have the opportunity, which I never sought, of admitting them solemnly into the number of my subjects."

Annexed to this general memoir there were some notes, also by the Emperor, one of them being that description of the sufferings of the Torgouths on their march, and of the miserable con-

dition in which they arrived at the Chinese frontier, which De Quincey has quoted at p. 79. Annexed to the memoir, there is also a letter from P. Amiot, one of the French Jesuit missionaries, dated "Pe-king, 15th October, 1773," containing a comment on the memoir by a certain Chinese scholar and mandarin, Yu-min-tchoung, who had been charged by the Emperor with the task of seeing the narrative properly preserved in four languages in a monumental form. It is from this Chinese comment on the Imperial Memoir that there is the extract at p. 80 as to the miserable condition of the fugitives.

On a comparison of De Quincey's splendid paper with the Chinese documents, several discrepancies present themselves; the most important of which perhaps are these:—(1) In De Quincey's paper it is Kien Long himself who first descries the approach of the vast Kalmuck horde to the frontiers of his dominions. On a fine morning in the early autumn of 1771, we are told, being then on a hunting expedition in the solitary Tartar wilds on the outside of the great Chinese Wall, and standing by chance at an opening of his pavilion to enjoy the morning sunshine, he sees the huge sheet of mist on the horizon, which as it rolls nearer and nearer, and its features become more definite, reveals camels, and horses, and human beings in myriads, and announces the advent of etc., etc.! In Kien Long's own narrative he is not there at all, having expected indeed the arrival of the Kalmuck host, but having deputed the military and commissariat arrangements for the reception of them to his trusted officer Chouhédé; and his first sight of any of them is when their chiefs are brought to him, by the imperial post-road, to his quarters a good way off, where they are honorably entertained, and whence they accompany him to his summer residence of Gé-hol. (2) De Quincey's closing account of the monument in memory of the Tartar Transmigration which Kien Long caused to be erected, and his copy of the fine inscription on the monument, are not in accord with the Chinese statements respecting that matter. "Mighty columns of granite and brass erected by the Emperor

Kien Long near the banks of the Ily," is De Quincey's description of the monument. The account given of the affair by the mandarin Yu-min-tchoung, in his comment on the Emperor's Memoir, is very different. "The year of the arrival of the Torgouths," he says, "chanced to be precisely that in which the Emperor was celebrating the eightieth year of the age of his mother the Empress-Dowager. In memory of this happy day his Majesty had built on the mountain which shelters from the heat (Pi-chou-chan) a vast and magnificent *miao*, in honor of the reunion of all the followers of Fo in one and the same worship; it had just been completed when Oubaché and the other princes of his nation arrived at Gé-hol. In memory of an event which has contributed to make this same year forever famous in our annals, it has been his Majesty's will to erect in the same *miao* a monument which should fix the epoch of the event and attest its authenticity; he himself composed the words for the monument and wrote the characters with his own hand. How small the number of persons that will have an opportunity of seeing and reading this monument within the walls of the temple in which it is erected!" Moreover the words of the monumental inscription in De Quincey's copy of it are hardly what Kien Long would have written or could have authorized. "Wandering sheep who have strayed away from the Celestial Empire in the year 1616," is the expression in De Quincey's copy for that original secession of the Torgouth Tartars from their eastern home on the Chinese borders for transference of themselves far west to Russia, which was repaired and compensated by their return in 1771 under their Khan Oubaché. As distinctly, on the other hand, the memoir of Kien Long refers the date of the original secession to no further back than the reign of his own grandfather, the Emperor Kang-hi, when Ayouki, the grandfather of Oubaché, was Khan of the Torgouths, and induced them to part company with their overbearing kinsmen the Eleuths, and seek refuge within the Russian territories on the Volga. In the comment of the Chinese mandarin on the Imperial Memoir the time is more exactly indicated

by the statement that the Torgouths had remained "more than seventy years" in their Russian settlements when Oubaché brought them back. This would refer us to about 1700, or, at furthest, to between 1690 and 1700, for the secession under Ayouki.

The discrepancies are partly explained by the fact that De Quincey followed Bergmann's account—which account differs avowedly in some particulars from that of the Chinese Memoirs. In Bergmann, I find, the original secession of the ancestors of Oubaché's Kalmuck horde from China to Russia is pushed back to 1616, just as in De Quincey. But, though De Quincey keeps by Bergmann when he pleases, he takes liberties with Bergmann too, intensifies Bergmann's story throughout, and adds much to it for which there is little or no suggestion in Bergmann. For example, the incident which De Quincey introduces with such terrific effect as the closing catastrophe of the march of the fugitive Kalmucks before their arrival on the Chinese frontier—the incident of their thirst-maddened rush into the waters of Lake Tengis, and their wallow there in bloody struggle with their Bashkir pursuers—has no basis in Bergmann larger than a few slight and rather matter-of-fact sentences. As Bergmann himself refers here and there in his narrative to previous books, German or Russian, for his authorities, it is just possible that De Quincey may have called some of these to his aid for any intensification or expansion of Bergmann he thought necessary. My impression, however, is that he did nothing of the sort, but deputed any necessary increment of his Bergmann materials to his own lively imagination.—DAVID MASSON.



EXPLANATORY NOTES.

PAGE 9. The "Revolt of the Tartars; or, Flight of the Kal-muck Khan and His People from the Russian Territories to the Frontiers of China" was first printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1837; reprinted by De Quincey, with but slight verbal changes, in 1854, in the fourth volume of his collected writings.—MASSON.

P. 9, l. 5. The Tartars are of Mongolian descent, and are found principally in western and central Asia. They are often nomadic, and generally but half-civilized.

P. 9, l. 5. **steppes.** Vast plains in Russia and Asia, sometimes level, sometimes rolling, like the prairies of North America. They are usually covered by a thick growth of high grass, but are interspersed now and then by lakes, rivers, and patches of barren land.

P. 9, l. 7. **terminus a quo**, starting-point. **terminus ad quem**, destination.

P. 9, l. 8, 9. De Quincey seems to confound the power of a throne with the number of people over whom it rules.

P. 9, l. 19. **the leming.** Written either *leming*, or *lemming*. "The common European leming inhabits Norway, Sweden, Lapland, and other northern countries. It is about five inches long and of varied coloration. It is very prolific, and vast hordes periodically migrate down to the sea, destroying much vegetation in their path."—*Century Dictionary*.

The words "and the leming" are an addition in the reprints of 1854. —MASSON.

P. 10, l. 4. **Miltonic images.** See *Paradise Lost*, I. 36-83, 169-191, 240-268; II. 14-42, 60-93, 165-186; VI. 832-881; *Comus*, 205-209. Have not the pictures been modified by De Quincey's imagination? See his *Vision of Sudden Death* for examples of similar transforming power.

PAGE 10, LINE 6. **Ancient chaos.** Cf. "chaos and old night,"
Par. Lost, I. 545.

P. 10, l. 10. **I.** In the first edition De Quincey had used the "editorial *we*" throughout.

P. 10, l. 23. **Venice Preserved**, a tragedy by Thomas Otway, 1651-1685. It is considered his masterpiece, and is one of the few enduring works of the so-called "Restoration drama" of England.

P. 10, l. 24. **Flesco.** One of the early tragedies of the German poet Friedrich Schiller, 1759-1805. Schiller belonged to the "Romantic period" of German literature, and was contemporary with Goethe.

P. 10, l. 29. **Cambyses III.**, King of the Medes and Persians, 529-522 B.C., and the son of Cyrus the Great, having overrun and devastated Egypt, annexed it to the Persian Empire. This expedition is supposed to have taken place about 525 B.C.

P. 11, l. 1. The famous "retreat of the ten thousand" Greeks who had served under Cyrus the younger, in his attempt to displace his brother Artaxerxes from the throne of Persia, took place in 401 B.C. These Greeks, 8,100 in number, made their retreat from Cunaxa, near Babylon, to Trapezus (now Trebizon) on the southern shore of the Black Sea, a distance of seven hundred miles. Their route lay through an unknown and inhospitable country, and was made more difficult by mountains, the severities of winter, and the attacks of hostile natives. Six thousand Greeks reached Trapezus.

P. 11, l. 3. **Parthia**, a country in south-western Asia, situated east of Media and south of Hyrcania, was the centre of the Parthian Empire, nearly coextensive with the first Persian Empire. It was invaded by Crassus, 54 B.C. Crassus was utterly defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by the pouring of molten gold down his throat in punishment of his rapacity in plundering palaces and temples. An invasion of Persia by Julian, called the Apostate, in 363 A.D., was equally disastrous, resulting in the death of Julian and the complete overthrow of his army.

P. 11, l. 6. **Anabasis**, an ascent or expedition inward; **katabasis**, a descent or (in this case) retreat or expedition backward.—MASSON.

P. 11, l. 6. The famous expedition of Napoleon to Moscow, in 1812. He set out in the spring with an army of more than 600,000 men. In Lithuania alone, 100,000 men were lost by fatigue, disease, and the attacks of the Cossacks who hung upon their flanks. About

the middle of September he entered Moscow. A few days later a fire broke out which reduced the city to a heap of ruins. When he began his retreat, Oct. 19, he had 120,000 men. Of these, 90,000 perished.

PAGE 11, LINE 10. **exodus.** See Old Testament, Ex. i.-xvii.; Josh. i.-xii.

P. 11, l. 29. **Koulagina**, perhaps Kologinskaia, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the Ural.

P. 12, l. 1. The Cossacks are a warlike, half-civilized people living in south-eastern Russia and western Siberia.

P. 12, l. 1. **Ouchim.** At the northern end of the Mugojar mountains, and about 300 miles west of Turgai.

P. 12, l. 2. **The Bashkirs** are of Finnish and Tartar ancestry, warlike and uncivilized. They have been conquered and taken into the empire by Russia. They live in south-eastern Russia, west of the Ural mountains.

P. 12, l. 3. **Turgai**, a city and river of western Siberia, in the province of Turgansk.

P. 12, l. 6. **The Lake of Tengis.** See note to p. 74, l. 29.

P. 15, l. 7. **Machiavelli**, celebrated Italian statesman and author, 1469-1527. In his work, *Il Principe*, a treatise on government, "political morality is disregarded and tyrannical methods of rule are inculcated."

"I should be cautious of inculcating such a principle if all men were good; but as they are all wicked, and ever ready to break their words, a prince should not pique himself in keeping his more scrupulously—and it is always easy to justify this want of faith. I could give numerous proofs of it, and show how many engagements and treaties have been broken by the infidelity of princes; the most fortunate of whom has always been he who best understood how to assume the character of the fox. The object is to act his part well, and to know how in due time to feign and dissemble. And men are so simple and so weak that he who wishes to deceive easily finds dupes."—From *The Prince*, chap. xviii.

The pupil may amuse himself by discovering the faults and fallacies in this characteristic utterance of Machiavelli.

P. 15, l. 17. **Elizabeth Petrowna.** Empress of Russia, 1741-1762; daughter of Peter the Great and Catharine I.; founder of the University of Moscow and of the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg. She was lacking in energy, firmness, and sense of justice, and

allowed herself to be ruled by her favorites. Of profligate character herself, "profligacy, espionage, and persecution reigned in her court, the administration of justice was restrained, and the finances neglected; but she was nevertheless extremely strict in the observance of the public ordinances of religion."

PAGE 16, LINE 1. **Tcherkask**, or Circassia, a Russian city thirty miles north-east of the Sea of Azov.

P. 19, 1. 1. **behemoth**. Hebrew for "great beast," Job xi. 15. See also *Par. Lost*, VII. 480.

"Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
His vastness."

P. 19, 1. 1. **Muscovy**. An old name for Russia.

P. 19, 1. 4. "Iion ramp." See Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, l. 139, and *Par. Lost*, IV. 343. Cf. the heraldic term "rampant."

P. 19, 1. 4. "baptized and infidel," *Par. Lost*, I. 582.

P. 19, 1. 6. "barbaric East." See *Par. Lost*, II. 3, 4. Has De Quincey this passage in mind? Cf. note to p. 69, 1. 4.

P. 19, 1. 12. "unity of a well-laid tragic fable." "The principle by which a uniform tenor of story and propriety of representation is preserved in literary compositions; a reference to some one purpose or leading idea, or to the main proposition, in all the parts of a discourse or composition." — *Century Dictionary*.

For further explanation, see the *Century Dictionary*; Aristotle's *Poetics*, Part II., Sects. iii.-v.; Schlegel's *Dramatic Literature*, Lectures xvii. and xviii.; Moulton's *Ancient Classical Drama*, p. 124, *et seq.*

P. 20, 1. 22. **Kien Long**, Emperor of China from 1735 to 1796, was the fourth Chinese emperor of the Mantchoo-Tartar dynasty, and a man of the highest reputation for ability and accomplishment. — **MASSON**.

P. 20, 1. 26. **Chinese wall**. The Great Wall of China was completed in 211 B.C. Several millions of men are said to have been employed for ten years in the construction of it. It is about 1,255 miles long, from 20 to 25 feet high, with towers 100 yards apart and 40 feet high, broad enough at the top to allow six horsemen to ride abreast, and made of hewn stone or brick faces, with earth thrown in between. It runs along the boundary line between China and Mongolia, beginning at the sea-shore.

PAGE 22, LINE 3. *Lama* is a Thibetan word for "spiritual lord;" the clergy of the Thibetans and other Mongolians are called *Lamas*; and their religion, which is a kind of Buddhism, is called *Lamaism*.

There are nominally two popes of the *Lamaist* religion; but the really supreme pope is the *Dalai-Lama*, i.e., "Ocean-Priest," residing at *Potola*, near *Lassa*, in *Thibet*. — MASSON.

Lamaism is a corrupted form of Buddhism prevailing in *Thibet* and *Mongolia*. Its ethical and metaphysical ideas are those of Buddhism. It has an organized hierarchy with political power, "an elaborate ritual, and the worship of a host of deities and saints."

P. 22, l. 14. *howling wilderness*. Deut. xxxii. 10.

P. 24, l. 14. The war was begun in 1768, when *Mustapha III.* was *Sultan of Turkey*; and it was continued till 1774. — MASSON.

P. 25, l. 28. It will be difficult, I think, to find record in the history of the *Russo-Turkish War*, begun in 1768, of any battle answering to this. — MASSON.

It can easily be seen by the reader that *De Quincey* cares more for the pictorial and dramatic effects of his narrative than for strict historic truth.

P. 26, l. 7. In the cycle of romances centring about *Charlemagne*, the knights in his court were called *Paladins*. The name later came to signify any knight-errant attendant on a sovereign.

P. 27, l. 12. For an account of the *Russian religion*, see *Tolstoi's My Religion* and *What to Do*. See also accounts of the *Greek Church* in *encyclopaedias* and elsewhere. *Russian Christianity* still has more of *mediaeval* enslavement to ceremony and tradition than the *Western Church*.

P. 27, l. 26. *Elizabeth* had been succeeded in 1762 by her nephew, *Peter III.*, who had reigned but a few months when he was dethroned by a conspiracy of *Russian nobles*, headed by his German wife, *Catherine*. She became empress in his stead, and reigned from 1762 to 1796 as *Catherine II.* — MASSON.

P. 28, l. 29. See p. 61, l. 14, *et seq.*

P. 29, l. 14, *et seq.* See the account on p. 22.

P. 30, l. 16. See APPENDIX, p. 86.

P. 32, l. 15. The *Khirgises* and *Bashkirs* are barbarous tribes living east of the *Caspian Sea*. They also are of partly *Mongolian* extraction. See note to p. 12, l. 2.

PAGE 33, LINE 8. Sarepta is a Moravian city, near the great bend of the Volga.

P. 33, l. 27. Cf. the speech of Ariovistus in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, I. 11, 12.

P. 34, l. 19. **The Temba.** The Emba river, which empties into the Caspian Sea from the north-east.

P. 36, l. 24. **Astrachan** is a Russian province lying on both sides of the Volga, near its mouth, — the province in which the revolting Kalmucks had their home.

P. 37, l. 17. We are accustomed to think of the travel by horses in the last century as necessarily very slow. But the system of travelling *post* — that is, by relays of horses — made possible a fairly rapid transit. In *The English Mail-Coach* De Quincey speaks of the coach as on “post-office allowance, in some cases of fifty minutes for eleven miles.”

P. 38, l. 18. Is this the tribe that was cut down later by the Cossacks? See pp. 46-48.

P. 38, l. 26. Cf. Cæsar, *Commentaries*, I. 4, and Cortes' action in his expedition to Mexico.

P. 42, l. 1. The inroads of the *Huns* into Europe extended from the third century into the fifth; those of the *Avars* from the sixth century to the eighth or ninth; the first great conquests by the *Mongol Tartars* were by Genghis Khan, the founder of a Mongol empire which stretched, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, from China to Poland. — MASSON.

The Avars are supposed to have come from the same Turanian stock as the Huns, from the land lying east of the Tobol in Siberia. They were subdued by Charlemagne, and later by the Moravians. After 827 they disappear from history. The Huns overran and defeated the Chinese Empire about 200 B.C., and again terrorized Europe until the death of their great leader, Attila, in 454 A.D.

P. 42, l. 7. See note to p. 11, l. 6.

P. 42, l. 18. Singular it is, and not generally known, that Grecian women accompanied the *anabasis* of the younger Cyrus and the subsequent Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Xenophon affirms that there were “many” women in the Greek army, — πολλαὶ γυναικεῖαι ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι; and in a late stage of that trying expedition it is evident that women were among the survivors. — DE QUINCEY'S NOTE.

Does De Quincey forget that every schoolboy who went to college

in the last century and the first half of this, probably read enough of the *Anabasis* to come across this passage? See the *Anabasis*, IV. iii. 19, and IV. vii. 2.

PAGE 42, LINE 28. See note to p. 11, l. 10.

P. 43, l. 9. **The pestilence in Athens.** b.c. 430. "No human art was of any avail; and as to supplications in temples, inquiries of oracles, and the like, they were utterly useless, and at last men were overpowered by the calamity, and gave them all up. The disease is said to have begun south of Egypt, in *Æthiopia*," and to have carried off one-fourth of the people. See Thucydides, II. 47-54.

P. 43, l. 10. **The "Great Plague of London,"** in 1665-1666. Pepys writes on Sept. 4, 1665: "I have stayed in the city till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them about 6,000 of the plague, and little noise heard day or night but tolling of bells." For further details see Pepys' *Diary*, 1665, DeFoe's *Journal of the Plague*, and various histories of England.

P. 43, l. 18. **The Roman Emperor Vespasian** and his son Titus, after having overcome all the other cities of Judæa, often with great slaughter, captured Jerusalem A.D. 70, after a siege of one year. "The number of those that perished during the whole siege [was] 1,100,000, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterwards such a famine as destroyed them more suddenly."—JOSEPHUS, Whiston's translation.

P. 44, l. 1. **Ural.** Called also Yaik, Iaik, and Jaik.

P. 45, l. 18. French for ferocity, lust of slaughter.

P. 46, l. 15. See note to p. 11, l. 29.

P. 46, l. 27. Bactria was an ancient province in the region of Afghanistan and Turkestan. Its capital, Bactra, stood upon the site of the present Balkh. The Bactrian and the Arabian camel are different species.

P. 47, l. 21. **pasturage.** The reader will remember that the expedition is taking place in midwinter. What, then, does De Quincey mean?

P. 50, l. 2. **"Trashed."** This is an expressive word used by Beaumont and Fletcher in their *Bonduca*, etc., to describe the

case of a person embarrassed and retarded in flight, or in pursuit, by some encumbrance, whether thing or person, too valuable to be left behind.—DE QUINCEY'S NOTE.

PAGE 50, LINE 6. **summa rerum**, the most important and critical thing; the turning-point of their fortunes. The reader may suggest a good idiomatic translation for the phrase.

P. 52, l. 17. The Mugojar or Mugodschar mountains. See note to p. 12, l. 1.

P. 53, l. 23. There was another ouloss equally strong with that of Feka-Zechorr, viz., that of Erketunn, under the government of Assarcho and Machi, whom some obligations of treaty or other hidden motives drew into the general revolt. But fortunately the two chieftains found means to assure the governor of Astrachan, on the first outbreak of the insurrection, that their real wishes were for maintaining the old connection with Russia. The Cossacks, therefore, to whom the pursuit was intrusted, had instructions to act cautiously and according to circumstances on coming up with them. The result was, through the prudent management of Assarcho, that the clan, without compromising their pride or independence, made such moderate submissions as satisfied the Cossacks; and eventually both chiefs and people received from the Czarina the rewards of exemplary fidelity.—DE QUINCEY'S NOTE.

P. 55, l. 9. See note to p. 22, l. 14.

P. 57, l. 2. See Herodotus, VII. 45, 46, for the account of this oft-narrated incident.

P. 58, l. 19. See APPENDIX; see also the inscription quoted at the end of this narrative.

P. 58, l. 28. **Orsk.** In the pass between the Ural mountains and the Mugojar hills.

P. 59, l. 1. Orenburgsk, near Turgai, in the province of Tur-gansk; not to be confused with Orenburg on the frontier of Russia.

P. 61, l. 25. **Mr.** The Russian equivalent for *Mr.* is *Gospodin*. Is De Quincey's substitution good?

P. 67, l. 27. Quoted from *Othello*, Act V., sc. ii., near the end of the scene.

P. 67, l. 29. **enraged hornets.** Note Milton's stronger use of the same figure, *Samson Agonistes*, 19, 20.

P. 68, l. 23, 24. **post equitem sedet atra cura.** Behind the horseman sits dark care. Horace, *Ode III.*, l. 37.

PAGE 69, LINES 4, 5. "from morn to dewy eve."

"From morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve."

Par. Lost, I. 743, 744.

P. 70, l. 28. All the circumstances are learned from a long state paper upon the subject of this Kalmuck migration, drawn up in the Chinese language by the Emperor himself. Parts of this paper have been translated by the Jesuit missionaries. The Emperor states the whole motives of his conduct and the chief incidents at great length.

—DE QUINCEY'S NOTE.

P. 72, l. 8. Camels "indorsed"—"and elephants indorsed with towers." Milton in *Paradise Regained*, III. 329.—DE QUINCEY'S NOTE.

P. 74, l. 12. *Cortège*. French for body-guard, or company of attendants.

P. 74, l. 29. There is some reason for regarding the scene that follows as fictitious and as a final imaginative flourish on the part of our author. Lake Tengiz lies in the province of Turgai, more than 1,000 miles to the west of China. Lake Balkash, lying near the Bek-pak-dala steppe, or Hungry Desert, may be intended; but it is too far from the Desert of Kobi and too far from China to fit into the author's geography. It is seven or eight hundred miles from the nearest part of the great wall. Issyk-Kul Lake is open to the same objections, though in less degree; it is, moreover, not bounded on the west by a desert, as the author's description demands. On the whole, it is perhaps wiser to regard this part of the narrative as a piece of fine writing than as having any basis of fact. But whatever we may think of it on grounds of fact, on grounds of rhetoric it justifies itself as an excellent piece of work, both in invention and in execution.

P. 78, l. 7. "globes" and "turms." Anglicized Latin words, quoted from Milton, meaning throngs, and troops of horse. See *Paradise Regained*, IV. 66.

"globes" is used by Milton in *Par. Lost*, II. 512, and *Par. Regained*, IV. 581 in the sense of *throng*.—LOCKWOOD'S *Lexicon to Milton's Poetical Works*.

"turms," used in *Par. Regained*, IV. 66, in the sense of *troops*.

P. 79, l. 12, *et seq.* "The nation of the Tourgouths (known as the

Kalmucks) arrived at Ily all in rags, having neither the means of living nor of clothing themselves. I had foreseen this, and, in order to be able to aid them promptly, had ordered the necessary provisions of every kind to be prepared; this was accomplished. We have made a division of the lands, and have assigned to each family a portion sufficient to serve for its maintenance, either by cultivation or by use for grazing. We have given to each individual material for clothing himself, grain for feeding himself during the space of a year, utensils for the house, and other necessary things; and in addition several ounces of silver in order that he may provide himself with whatever we may have forgotten. We have set aside some particular places rich in pasturage; and we have given to them some cattle, sheep, etc., so that they may be able eventually to work for themselves for their maintenance and their comfort."

PAGE 80, LINE 8, *et seq.* "When they arrived on our frontier (to the number of several hundreds of thousands, although extreme fatigue, hunger, thirst, and the other hardships inseparable from a very long and painful route, had caused almost as many to perish), they were reduced to extreme misery; they had lost everything. He (the Emperor, Kien Long) caused to be prepared for them lodgings suitable to their manner of living. He had food and clothing distributed to them; he had cattle, sheep, and utensils given to them in order to put them in a condition to breed cattle, and to cultivate the land. All this was at his own expense, and amounted to immense sums, not counting the silver which he had given to each head of a family to provide for the support of his wife and children."

P. 82, l. 25. "Nor is there any law more just than that plotters of evil should perish by their own device."

Lex talionis. The law of retaliation. See its statement, for example, in the Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye," etc.

P. 83, l. 3. **lares.** The household deities, or gods of the hearth, worshipped by the Romans. The term came later to be synonymous with hearth or home.

P. 83, l. 8. **Arcadian.** Arcadia was the central part of the Peloponnesus. The simple, rural, and ignorant character of its inhabitants led the lyric and pastoral poets to idealize it as the land of peace, plenty, and happiness.

P. 83, l. 15. See note to p. 43, l. 9.

P. 84, l. 33. See APPENDIX, p. 89.

CRITICAL NOTES.

THE following notes and questions are intended as suggestions to the teacher as well as to the pupil; and it is hoped that the pupil may get some stimulus from the independent use of them. Some, at least, of the following books should be accessible to the student: Mead's *Composition and Rhetoric*; Genung's *Practical Elements of Rhetoric*, and *Outlines of Rhetoric*; Hill's *Foundations of Rhetoric*, and *Principles of Rhetoric*; Carpenter's *Exercises in Rhetoric and Composition*. A dictionary of synonyms, such as Crabbe's or Roget's, and, above all, an unabridged dictionary, should be easy of access to every student.

Read the essay as a whole before beginning to study it minutely and critically. No true criticism can consider the parts aside from their relation to the whole. Then consider the larger divisions of the essay, and note what relations they have to the whole and to each other.

How many paragraphs does the introduction comprise? What are the functions of an introduction? See Genung's *Practical Elements of Rhetoric*, pp. 267-270. Notice the functions of the first paragraph; the sustained dignity of the diction, the appeals to the imagination, the associations recalled, the energy depicted. Show what purposes the author has in view in these things.

PAGE 9, LINES 1-6. Note the effect of including time, place, and event in the introductory sentence. Note the effect of the diction: **earliest, flight, eastward, boundless**, etc. Do these words appeal to the imagination or to the feelings?

P. 9, l. 5. **steppes.** Why is this word better than *plains*?

PAGE 9, LINE 7. *terminus a quo*, and *terminus ad quem*. Translate into idiomatic English. Is there any gain in using the Latin? If so, what is it?

P. 9, l. 8, 9. What antithesis in these lines? Cf. the words in the first and third sentences which suggest this same antithesis.

P. 9, l. 10. *harmoniously . . . flight*. Make this clear by paraphrasing it.

P. 9, l. 11. *Romantic*. How distinguished from *fictitious*, *strange*, and *unusual*? Cite concrete examples to illustrate.

P. 9, l. 12. *Abruptness*. Cf. *Suddenness*, *quickness*, *violence*, *energy*.

P. 9, l. 15. How many is a *myriad*? Is the definite or the indefinite term better here? Why?

P. 10, l. 1-9. Loose or periodic sentence? What effects are attained by this arrangement?

P. 10, l. 15. *Collation*. Substitute a more familiar word. Cite other cases where the author uses the more formal and elaborate manner of expression. Take this first paragraph, reduce it to a simple and unadorned statement of the main ideas, and then say what the author has gained by his diction.

P. 10, l. 16. *complexity*. Does the author anywhere analyze this complexity?

P. 10, l. 27, 28. *ascertained . . . prefigured*. Notice the discriminating use of these words.

P. 11, l. 15, *et seq.* What promise is here fulfilled? What promise here implied that is not fulfilled later?

P. 12, l. 11. What is meant by a *philosophic interest*?

P. 12, l. 14. Explain the epithet, *simple-hearted*. Note its recurrence later, p. 15, l. 10, and elsewhere. Does it denote a moral or an intellectual quality? Cf. also p. 13, l. 2-5 and 8-10. Is there any inconsistency?

P. 12, l. 16. What relation to the narrative proper does this sentence sustain?

P. 13, l. 5. *Unparalleled*. What other word than *conceit* does this modify? Loose or periodic order? Reduce this sentence to commonplace diction; then show which words of De Quincey's are most effective.

P. 13, l. 15-18. What antithesis here?

P. 14, l. 12-14. Cf. p. 13, l. 14, 20, 22, 28, *et seq.* Is there any con-

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tradiction or ambiguity here? If not, show what word in the context obviates it.

PAGE 14, LINE 20. Note the way in which the two principal actors are introduced. Why is Oubacha introduced first?

P. 14, l. 28. What is meant by a *philosophical observer*? Is the view on p. 11, l. 16, to p. 12, l. 15, that of a *philosophical observer*?

P. 15, l. 8, 9. Give synonyms for *perfidy* and *remorse*. State definitely the meaning of these terms.

P. 15, l. 9. *Calculated*. Used here in its primary or secondary sense? Cf. the New England provincial use of this word, and the common use in America of "I guess" and "I reckon."

P. 15, l. 19. Note the order of this sentence. What expectation does it create?

P. 15, l. 21. Just what is meant by *arming suspicions*? How does it differ from *arousing* suspicions? What figure of speech is it?

P. 16, l. 2. *tents*. What figure of speech? How does this make the sentence more graphic?

P. 16, l. 5-10. Note the use of the indefinite and general statement, followed by particulars. Point out the terms that are general in their nature.

P. 16, l. 8. *thus . . . introducing*. Grammatical construction? Is there any ambiguity?

Notice the gradual development of Zebek-Dorchi's character. How much is given through action? How much through characterization?

P. 16, l. 14. Explain *balance of power*. What figure of speech?

P. 17, l. 17-21, *et seq.* Where else is this same idea expressed?

P. 18, l. 2. See note on p. 12, l. 14. See also p. 24, l. 7.

P. 18, l. 18. *gloomy*. Does this refer to moral or material things?

P. 18, l. 19, *et seq.* Note De Quincey's analytical habit of mind. Cf. the self-analyses of Iago and Richard III.

P. 18, l. 25, *et seq.* Select the epithets by which the author dignifies his theme.

P. 19, l. 4 and 6. See under NOTES—EXPLANATORY. Is the author's imitation of Milton one of diction only, or also of spirit and attitude? Give reasons for your opinion, and select the passages upon which you base it.

P. 19, l. 12. Is this the attitude of the historian or of the literary critic?

PAGE 19, LINE 18. Effect of the inverted order? How else might a similar effect be produced?

P. 20, l. 2-14. What faulty construction in this sentence? Is there any defence to be made of it? Trace the climax in this sentence.

P. 20, l. 10. Grammatical construction of **frost** and **snow**? Note the gain in force by brevity.

P. 20, l. 13, 14. Where has this idea been expressed before?

P. 20, l. 18. **that view.** In what view?

P. 20, l. 21. Are these ideas supplementary or antithetical?

P. 21, l. 1. **delicate.** Meaning? Synonyms?

P. 22, l. 5. **terrific.** Note the author's frequent use of this word. See pp. 23, 29, and elsewhere. Does it seem to be a stronger word than necessary? Can you find any other words that he has a tendency to "overwork"?

P. 23, l. 1-11. Note the frequent long sentences. What sort of mental qualities do they reveal in the author? Compare a number of them, and discover their common traits.

P. 23, l. 23. **precisely.** What would be the usual position of the adverb? What is the effect of this position?

P. 24, l. 5. **definitively.** Does this differ from *definitely*?

P. 24, l. 12. **withering.** Cf. p. 9, l. 19. Why does this word not seem to be used too often?

P. 24, l. 16. **vassalage.** Distinguish *vassalage*, *slavery*, *serfdom*, *subjection*, *subordination*.

P. 24, l. 20. What deviation from the normal order here?

P. 24, l. 29. **jealousy.** In what sense is the word used?

P. 25, l. 7. **forever.** Is this word too strong? How does it harmonize with the prevailing style in this paper?

P. 25, l. 10-17. Determine from the context what motives Oubacha had for so doing. Does De Quincey make it clear?

P. 25, l. 23. **concerned.** Definite or indefinite term? Substitute one that seems equally good.

P. 25, l. 22-29. Do you see any departure from a perfect climax? What ambiguity does the sentence contain?

P. 26, l. 3. **in acquired.** What other position might this phrase have? What would be gained or lost by the change?

P. 26, l. 10. **precarious alms.** Paraphrase this. What reason for the comma after **alms**?

PAGE 26, LINE 22. **ukase.** Derivation. What other word of the same meaning has De Quincey previously used?

P. 26, l. 22-24. What is gained by the broken form of this sentence?

P. 26, l. 26. **life-deep.** Cf. life-withering, p. 9, l. 19. What is it that makes this a poetic word? Can you cite compound words of similar effect from Tennyson or Milton?

P. 26, l. 27. **accommodation.** In what sense used here?

P. 26, l. 28. What expectation is aroused at this point? Note the effect of the ending of the sentence.

P. 27, l. 4-16. What analysis of character and feelings is given here?

P. 27, l. 15. Can any objection be made to the figure in this line?

P. 27, l. 22. **chiefly.** Find for this word another place in the sentence.

P. 28, l. 1-10. Make a loose sentence of this by a slight rearrangement. What is the difference in the effect?

P. 28, l. 16. **set the seal.** Paraphrase this. What figure of speech?

P. 28, l. 19. **doubtful.** Is this redundant?

P. 29, l. 3-13. Is it good narration to bring this in at this point? Cf. p. 22, *et seq.*

P. 29, l. 26. **ghostly.** Substitute another word.

P. 29, l. 28. **unsteady demeanor.** Note the excellent choice of words. Can you substitute a single word?

P. 30, l. 1. To what changes does the author refer?

P. 30, l. 12. In just what sense is **prejudice** used?

P. 30, l. 13. **lowest.** Is anything implied more than is expressed?

P. 30, l. 14. For **in quality of** substitute one word. What characteristic of the author's style is here indicated?

P. 30, l. 16. **derived.** Meaning of this word in its intransitive use?

P. 30, l. 19. **by improving, et seq.** With what is this phrase grammatically connected?

P. 30, l. 10-29. Note the *résumé* of conditions and causes. Is this passage narrative or analytic?

P. 30, l. 17-24. Analyze and rearrange the ideas contained in this clause. Note the awkwardness in the way the relatives are used.

P. 30, l. 27. **criminal facility.** Meaning? Cf. the slang use of the word *easy*.

PAGE 31, LINES 6-20. Cf. pp. 16 and 17. Is it good narration to give these facts in this place? Give the reason for your opinion.

P. 31, l. 27. Note the fine antithesis.

P. 31, l. 22-29. Note the elaborate and stately style. To which words and ideas is the effect chiefly due?

P. 32, l. 4. **hazard** **throw**. How accurate is this comparison?

P. 32, l. 17. **immemorial**. Is this word too strong? Cf. p. 84, l. 27.

P. 32, l. 20-23. Note the effectiveness of the form and rhythm of this sentence.

P. 32, l. 25. Can you discover what use was made of this parchment at the rendezvous?

P. 33, l. 27. **were used**. What is the more common colloquial form? Why is the passive form better?

P. 34, l. 2. **vast**. Is this word necessary? Why is it effective?

P. 34, l. 10. **if so**. For what longer phrase does this stand?

P. 34, l. 22. **conscious security**. Does the adjective make the noun subjective or objective?

P. 34, l. 22-23. **hold** **language**. Note the effectiveness of the idiom.

P. 34, l. 24. **audience**. Used in what sense?

P. 34, l. 25-29. Note here, as elsewhere, De Quincey's lavish use of adjectives. What is the effect upon the simplicity of his style?

P. 35, l. 6-9. What ideas are made co-ordinate?

P. 35, l. 11-13. Try the effect of making the first clause of this sentence subordinate.

P. 35, l. 20, 21. What co-ordinate parts are not symmetrical in form? Make them so.

P. 36, l. 17, 18. Note the frequent occurrence of this forecast of disaster. What is the effect of it?

P. 36, l. 19. What is gained by the brevity of the first clause?

P. 36, l. 20. **came**. Note the change to the Russian point of view. Is it justifiable?

P. 37, l. 2. **bigotry**. Define accurately. Is the word used here in its usual application?

P. 37, l. 14-16. Note the analysis of emotion. By what other means might the same impression have been given us?

P. 37, l. 14-24. What gives this sentence such strength?

— W. You

PAGE 37, LINES 24-29. Note the elaborate style. Cf. the simplicity and brevity in Browning's *My Last Duchess* :—

"I gave commands,
Then all smiles stopped together; there she stands,
As if alive."

P. 38, l. 9, 10. Note the force of the definite numerals. Cf. previous use of "myriads."

P. 39, l. 7. **applied**, *et seq.* Substitute a shorter phrase.

P. 39, l. 9. **whole**. Grammatical construction.

P. 39, l. 12-15; 19-22. Paraphrase into simpler forms.

P. 39, l. 13. **valetedictory vengeance**. Note the alliteration and the rhythm. Do you find much use of the former in this paper?

P. 39, l. 15-22. Why is this sentence not simple? If the second half were reduced to a simple form, what would be lost?

P. 39, l. 23. **happily**. What synonymous word?

P. 39, l. 24. **providential**. Etymological meaning? Implied meaning determined by its customary use?

P. 39, l. 25. What advantage in repeating this fact?

P. 39, l. 27. Condense this line into a brief phrase.

P. 40, l. 1. **unless**. Cf. *except*. What difference in the use of the two words?

P. 40, l. 2. Cf. the beginning of this sentence with the end of the last. What is gained by this sort of transition?

P. 40, l. 3. **aggravate**. What inaccurate use does this word often have?

P. 40, l. 3. **thousandfold**. Is this word used definitely or indefinitely?

P. 40, l. 4. **inevitable**. Account for the position of the adjective.

P. 40, l. 14, 15. **might not be**. What tense would you have expected here? Is this accurate?

P. 40, l. 16. **laden**. What is the present tense of this verb?

P. 40, l. 18. **on January**. Account for the punctuation.

P. 40, l. 21. **certain**. Used in what sense?

P. 40, l. 26. **Be**. What mood?

P. 41, l. 3. **universally**. Make an adjective of this, and insert it in the proper place in the sentence. Is this word too strong?

P. 41, l. 5. **surprised**. Cf. the weaker and more common use of the term.

PAGE 41, LINE 18. Criticise the construction here.

P. 41, l. 26, *et seq.* Contrast the general style here with the detailed and specific style of Pepys' *Diary*, and DeFoe's *History of the Plague in London*. How many times has the author given us this "foretaste" of the sufferings of the Tartars? How many times does he make the comparison with other great national calamities? Does he seem to you to have the power of graphic description? Cf. passages in Carlyle's *French Revolution*, and Hamlet's account of the opening of the sealed letters, Act V., sc. ii.

P. 41, l. 26. **unroll.** Note the effectiveness of the word.

P. 42, l. 1-24. Is there too much digression here? See p. 6, l. 24-27.

P. 42, l. 9. **feeble and miniature.** Is there any redundancy here?

P. 42, l. 12. **vials of wrath.** What is the source of this familiar expression?

P. 42, l. 13. **devoted.** Used in what sense?

P. 43, l. 1, 2. **released . . . flight.** In allusion to what? Express the fact definitely.

P. 43, l. 5. **Earthquakes, et seq.** Does the description gain or lose by introducing this comparison?

P. 43, l. 11. **martyrs.** Used accurately? See dictionary.

P. 43, l. 16. Is this statement accurate?

P. 43, l. 25. **romantic misery.** Explain.

P. 44, l. 7-13. What gives its strength and beauty to this sentence?

P. 44, l. 15. **monotonous.** Where in the paper has the author spoken of the "fierce varieties" of the misery of the Kalmucks? Does he contradict himself?

P. 44, l. 18, 19. Keep this passage in mind, and see whether our author fulfils his promise.

P. 44, l. 24. **moulding hands.** What figure? Express the idea literally.

P. 44, l. 25-28. See note on "unity of a well-laid tragic fable," p. 19, l. 12. Does De Quincey seem to have a vivid realization of the suffering he attempts to describe, or does he see it only as a dramatic critic? See note on p. 41, l. 26.

P. 44, l. 29. Comment upon the propriety of this figure.

P. 45, l. 4-6. Condense and simplify.

PAGE 45, LINE 8. **decrement.** Substitute *decrease*. What difference in effect?

P. 45, l. 12. Of whom were these armies composed? Is the adjective strictly accurate? Cf. the definite and indefinite function of such adjectives.

P. 45, l. 15. Distinguish between *farther* and *further*.

P. 45, l. 17. Cf. p. 70, l. 13-29, and criticise the accuracy of this statement.

P. 45, l. 20-23. See note on p. 44, l. 18, 19.

P. 46, l. 6. **innumerable.** What figure of speech?

P. 46, l. 9-11. Point out the effective arrangement of this sentence.

P. 46, l. 16. **invested.** Primary or secondary meaning? **summoned.** Meaning?

P. 46, l. 20, 21. Account for the graphic effect of these lines.

P. 46, l. 24. **usages warfare.** Just what is meant by this?

P. 47, l. 9. See note on p. 32, l. 17, 18.

P. 47, l. 10-25. State briefly the logical sequence in this passage.

P. 47, l. 21. **pasturage.** In what season of the year was the Tartar exodus?

P. 47, l. 21, 22, 24, 28. Select the adjectives by which the author conveys an idea of the number of their cattle.

P. 48, l. 6. **held and styled.** Is this redundant? Give the reason for your opinion.

P. 48, l. 8-15. Show where the construction of this sentence is not symmetrical.

P. 48, l. 16. **raised.** Meaning? What figure of speech?

P. 48, l. 20-24. Account for the force and beauty of a part of this sentence, and for the weak effect of its ending.

P. 49, l. 1-12. What lack of symmetry in this sentence? Does it gain or lose thereby?

P. 49, l. 7. **difficult and obscure.** What distinction of synonyms here?

P. 49, l. 13. **that.** Conjunction or pronoun?

P. 49, l. 18. **but.** Equivalent to what two words?

P. 49, l. 20-21. Whose **excitement** and **sympathy** are meant?

P. 50, l. 9. **week.** Cf. p. 48, l. 3. Account for the discrepancy in time.

PAGE 50, LINE 13. Note the effect of repetition.

P. 50, l. 25. Note the emphasis by arrangement. Note the rapid movement of the narrative from this point on; the gain in force from the greater number of *dynamic* words; the effect of the greater frequency of short sentences.

P. 50, l. 28. **out of.** What is the more common idiom?

P. 51, l. 2. **to.** What other word could be used?

P. 51, l. 4. Point out the ambiguity in pronouns.

P. 51, l. 9, 10. See note on p. 36, l. 17, 18. Cf. also pp. 79-81. Is there any inconsistency?

P. 51, l. 28. **exclusively.** What is the usual form in similar constructions?

P. 52, l. 8. **and.** Why should there not be a new sentence at this point?

P. 52, l. 11-13. **motives . . . exhausting.** Show that the thought and expression here are not *direct*.

P. 53, l. 6. **trepidation.** Cf. *fear, terror, alarm*.

P. 53, l. 8. **élite.** What is now the usual application of this word?

P. 53, l. 15. **Hardy . . . strong.** Note the strength from the position of the adjectives.

P. 54, l. 15. To what does the **namely** refer?

P. 54, l. 26, 27. Change to a brief and definite statement.

P. 54, l. 29. What is gained by the repetition and antithesis?

P. 55, l. 4, 5. What rhetorical principle gives this sentence such force?

P. 55, l. 9. **howling wilderness.** Where used before in this paper?

P. 55, l. 10, 11. **full, likely.** Is there any inconsistency here?

P. 55, l. 29. What word has an unusual position?

P. 56, l. 4-8. What words and images give beauty to these lines?

P. 56, l. 16. What antithesis is implied in this line? How is the transition made between this paragraph and the last?

P. 56, l. 22, 23. **arid, adust.** Give the more familiar words of the same meaning. Why are the words of the text more effective?

P. 56, l. 25. Cf. Milton's use of the term in the lines:—

"Mammon,
The least *erected* spirit of those that fell."

Par. Lost, I. 679.

What other words in this sentence give a peculiar beauty and dignity to the diction?

PAGE 57, LINE 2. **Xerxes.** What line of thought, given early in this paper and kept up throughout (see again p. 83), is recalled by this allusion? How does it give consistency to the narrative?

P. 57, l. 5. Has the author forgotten that the khan "was under religious obligations of terrific solemnity," and "was sensitive and timid . . . under the vague anticipations of ghostly retributions"? See p. 29.

P. 57, l. 24. **misery . . . fruit.** State literally.

P. 58, l. 9. **immortal.** Criticise the diction.

P. 58, l. 20. **Spite.** What word is understood before this? Note the kind of introduction given to this paragraph and to the one on p. 59. What is the main idea in each?

P. 59, l. 20. **transpiring.** Meaning? In what incorrect way is the word often used?

P. 60. Are there on this page any of the author's characteristic exaggerations?

P. 63, l. 14, *et seq.* Note the rapid and spirited narration in this incident,—the verbs, the short sentences, the restraint of the diction.

P. 67, l. 6-10. Study the form of this narration. Show to what it owes its excellence.

P. 67, l. 22-26. What co-ordinate ideas in this sentence are not symmetrical in form?

P. 67, l. 29. **hornets.** Cf. Milton's use of the same figure, *Samson Agonistes*, l. 19, 20. Whose use of the figure has the more poetic quality? Why?

P. 68, l. 24, 25. From what source is the figure borrowed?

P. 68, l. 29. **imbittered.** What other way of spelling the word? This form is now obsolete.

P. 69, l. 16-21. What lack of symmetry in this sentence?

P. 70, l. 12. What elements in the foregoing description make the choice of words so effective?

P. 70, l. 13. Note the skilful change in the point of view. See Genung's *Practical Elements of Rhetoric*, pp. 329, 330. What is gained for the succeeding description by this change?

P. 70, l. 22-29. Cf. this passage with the explanatory note on the final incident of the Tartar retreat, and with De Quincey's reference

elsewhere to this incident as occurring under the shadows of the Great Wall of China.

PAGES 70-72. Note the skill with which this picture is drawn; the completeness with which the reader is put into the correct mental attitude; the elements of imagination introduced in such words as **cloudy vapor**, **billowy volumes**, **glades**, **forest avenues**, **aërial arches**, **portals**, **pall**, **tumultuous**, etc.; the euphony of the language; the skilful creation of suspense; and the gradual solution of the mystery.

P. 72, l. 20. Force of the words in fact?

P. 72, l. 24. Literal. What antithesis is implied?

P. 73, l. 18. **apparition**. What is the effect of this word? Cf. *sight, appearance, vision*.

P. 74, l. 7. **shroud**. Primary or secondary meaning? See an unabridged dictionary.

P. 74, l. 9. **upon**. Meaning?

P. 75, l. 18. What has been done here to secure euphony?

P. 76, l. 24. **almighty instinct**. Where has the author used this phrase before?

P. 76, l. 28. Is there any redundancy in this line?

P. 76-78. By what means is the description made so graphic? See Genung's *Practical Elements of Rhetoric*, pp. 327, 332, 334-337, 341-343. This description is well worth a minute analysis.

P. 78, l. 26. **found**. Can you substitute a more accurate word?

P. 83. Study the diction for beauty and imaginative effects.

P. 84, l. 5. **most rich**, *et seq.* Note the dignity of this unusual form.

P. 84, l. 11. Cf. the beginnings of Shakspere's fifty-fifth and sixty-fifth sonnets.

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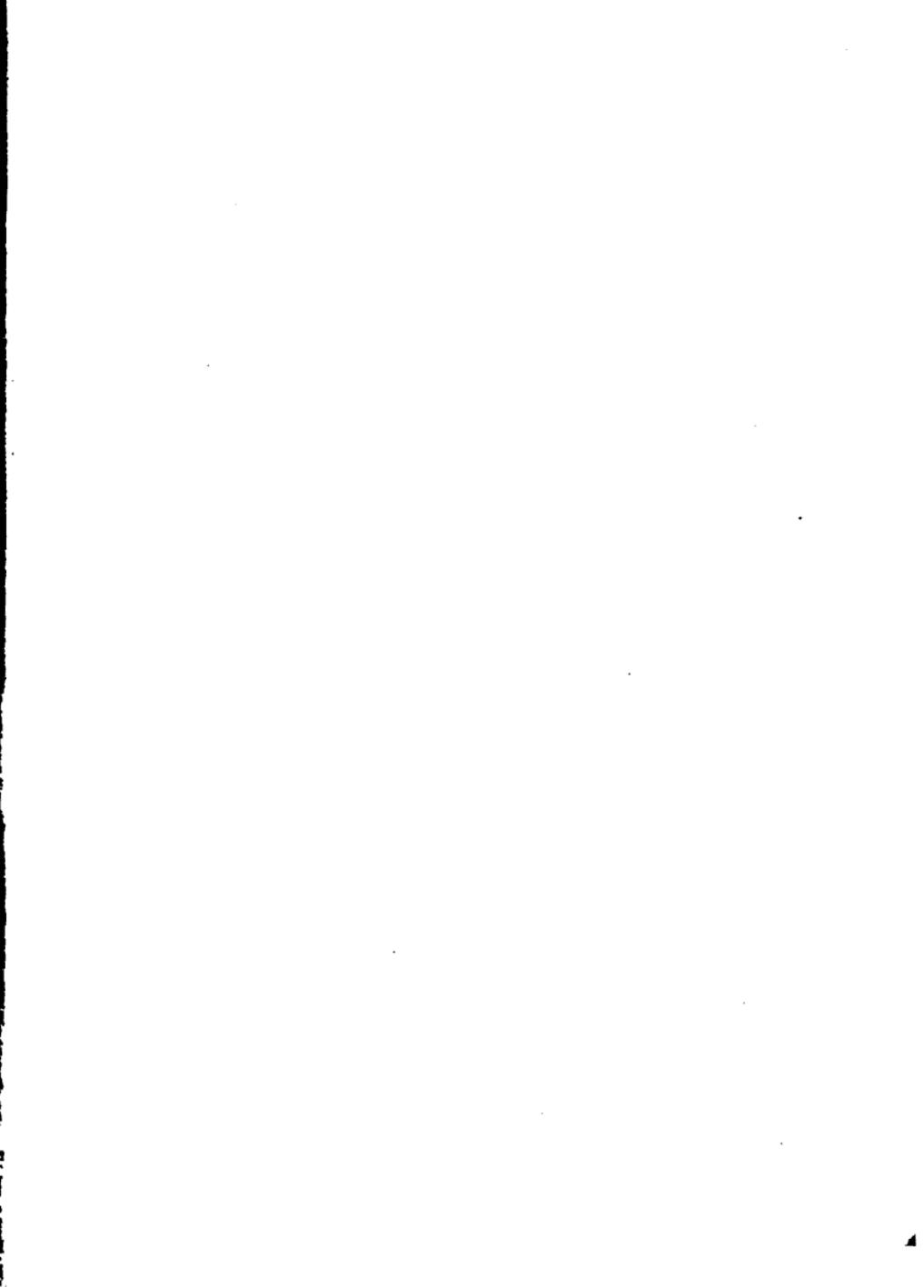
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